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ABSTRACT

This volume consists of 35 papers divided into the following 12 sections: (1) organizational policy: a dialogue between TESOL and bilingual education--two papers on compatibility and cooperation; (2) second language acquisition--six papers dealing with language learning and teaching, effect of background on learning, order of acquisition, overgeneralization, error analysis and some future trends; (3) research on teaching behavior and curriculum--two papers dealing with delayed oral practice and teachers' treatment of error; (4) two papers on bilingual education: issues in program planning; (5) regional dialects in bilingual education and ESOL--three papers dealing with the speech of Spanish-speaking Americans, language contact and dialect; (6) two papers on nonverbal communication in the classroom; (7) human relations, affect, and communicative competence--four papers on developing communicative competence through humanism and group work; (8) general ESOL teaching techniques--four papers about communicative starters, games, mini-lessons and television commercials; (9) teaching specific aspects of English--two papers on numbers and passive voice at beginning levels; (10) teaching writing skills--three papers on composition courses, sentence combining and collective storywriting; (11) teaching reading skills--three papers on advanced reading, teaching of literature and reading the news; and (12) new developments in testing--two papers on intercultural acceptance and the cloze procedure. The cross-referenced ED numbers, above, refer to papers from this collection already in the ERIC system. (TL)

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ON TESOL '75

NEW DIRECTIONS IN SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING, TEACHING AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Selected Papers from the
Ninth Annual TESOL Convention
Los Angeles, California
March 4–9, 1975

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Edited by

MARINA K. BURT and HEIDI C. DULAY

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ON TESOL '75:

NEW DIRECTIONS IN SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING, TEACHING AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

There is a widespread feeling of renewed vitality in language teaching and bilingual education today, largely inspired by new discoveries in the language classroom, new insights from research, and new trends in educational policy that have been accumulating rapidly over the last decade. Whether we are undergoing a "revolution," or are simply experiencing that inevitable spurt of growth all active disciplines undergo regularly, there is no doubt that significant changes in the field are imminent. It seems timely and necessary, therefore, to bring together the new discoveries, insights, techniques, and policies that are contributing to new directions in second language learning, teaching, and bilingual education. The 1975 TESOL Convention provided an international forum for the presentation and discussion of these new trends; this volume is an attempt to capture their essence.

It may be presumptuous to attempt to extract the "major theme" running through a collection of articles on topics as diverse as nonverbal communication and teaching the passive voice. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to notice that every suggestion, insight, or approach presented in this volume is inspired by *a fresh look at the contributions of the learner to the learning process*—be it an appreciation for the complexities of the human mind, a respect for the particular needs and feelings of individuals, or a sensitivity to the variety of social factors that may influence learning outcomes. For example, experienced language teachers know that real communication is extremely difficult to bring about in a language classroom. It is easy to ask artificial questions such as "What am I doing?" and to train students to respond to them. However, it has taken extreme sensitivity to create situations in the classroom that guarantee spontaneous communication among students and teachers. The sections on "Human Relations, Affect, and Communicative Competence" and "General ESOL Teaching Techniques" offer a variety of simple techniques to accomplish this difficult task. The section on "Nonverbal Communication" highlights the important, yet rarely mentioned, other half of the communication process—the gestures and other unspoken messages that mean so much. At the other end of the spectrum, the section on "Second Language Acquisition" presents the results of a close examination of the developing speech of both children and adult language learners from different language backgrounds. Common sequences of acquisition for certain grammatical structures were discovered, suggesting that both children and adults use certain learning strategies which have their base in innate cognitive mechanisms. These findings, together with error analyses, also indicate that adult second language learners still have access to those cognitive strategies that have proven so successful for young second language learners. Other investigations of student-teacher behaviors presented in the section on "Research on Teacher Behavior and Curriculum" have resulted in a more meaningful implementation of the listening-before-speaking principle, as well as guidelines for more sensitive correction techniques. "Regional Dialects in Bilingual Education and ESOL" presents analyses of the speech varieties and the language environments of different groups of second language learners. These analyses show that a selection process, controlled by the learner rather than the teacher, determines which target language dialect will be learned. Peer group dialect, the dynamics of languages in contact, as well as social mobility, significantly influence the shape of the target language produced by learners.

In reading through this volume, it is obvious that while the authors draw on the insights offered by the major disciplines of psychology, linguistics, anthropology, and sociology, these are subordinate to insights gained by direct observation of, interaction with, and concern for language learners in diverse settings. For example, various micro-analyses of both reading and writing styles of university ESOL students, presented in "Teaching Reading Skills" and "Teaching Writing Skills," suggest new teaching techniques specifically tailored to these students. Likewise, difficulties encountered by second language learners motivate the presentation of certain "oddities" of the English language and corresponding teaching techniques ("Teaching Specific Aspects of English"). The two articles on "New Developments in Testing" refine existing psychometric procedures such as the semantic differential and cloze techniques, and tailor them to the needs of ESOL and bilingual students. Finally, general policy statements at the beginning of this volume, as well as the suggested guidelines for bilingual program design ("Bilingual Education: Issues in Program Planning"), reflect a deep concern for the needs of students whose native languages and cultures are not English or "Anglo," a concern which transcends potentially divisive theoretical or political issues in the field.

The new directions presented in this volume encompass both general theoretical guidelines and specific teaching techniques—the first half of this book focusses on general guidelines and research on language learning and bilingual education, while the second half emphasizes classroom techniques written by teachers for teachers. It is extremely encouraging that the teaching techniques, most of which resulted from many years of classroom experience, are strongly supported by the research findings on the language learning process. This complementarity of the new directions in theory and practice attests to the reality of a new era in the education of children and adults who are learning English as a second language.

Marina K. Burt and Heidi C. Dulay
Editors

ORGANIZATIONAL POLICY: A DIALOGUE BETWEEN TESOL AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The Compatibility of TESOL and Bilingual Education[1]

JAMES E. ALATIS
Georgetown University, Executive Secretary, TESOL

When I was asked to speak at this Convention and learned that my paper would be part of a "dialogue" with Albar Peña, I was delighted and encouraged. I have known Dr. Peña since he first came to Washington, to head the Division of Bilingual Education, and I am confident that this "dialogue" will be an exchange of ideas between two friends and colleagues, with a view to reaching a productive statement.

With the recent resurgence of governmental interest and activity in bilingual education, both in legislation, court actions, and even White House Conferences, the following question is often asked: Does TESOL have a role in bilingual education? My immediate answer to that question is: Yes, of course! TESOL has always had a role in bilingual education, whether by "TESOL" we mean simply the field of teaching English to speakers of other languages, or the professional organization from whose name the acronym derives. TESOL involves, almost by definition, bilingual education—certainly *one part* of bilingual education, and a very important part, at that. We are, after all, "Teachers of Speakers of Other Languages." Thus, in the very name of the association there is recognition of the fact that there are at least *two* languages involved. Indeed, some people consider TESOL and bilingualism to be synonymous. For example, Mary Finocchiaro (1971: 3) begins one of her articles in the *TESOL Quarterly* by identifying what she considers to be the two desired terminal objectives of most TESOL courses—bilingualism and biculturalism. Thus, to Mary Finocchiaro and other leaders in the field of ESOL, bilingualism is one of the two major 'terminal behaviors' that ESOL teachers strive to produce in their students.

The Bilingual Education Act defines bilingual education as follows:

> . . . bilingual education involves the use of two languages, *one of which is English* (emphasis supplied), as a medium of instruction. Both languages are used for the same student population—not as an isolated effort, but as a key component of a program embracing a total curriculum. (Cranston 1974: 38)

It is clear that TESOL and bilingual education cannot be separated: as Bernard Spolsky has said,

> . . . any bilingual education program in the United States must include an effective ESOL component, and any ESOL program that ignores the children's first language is likely to be ineffective. (1970: 327)

---

[1] Plenary address delivered at the 1975 TESOL Convention, Los Angeles.

ESOL provides a strategy, Spolsky contends, for the teaching of standard English to children for whom there is a language barrier to education. Bilingual education encourages the provision of a transitional or maintained education in the child's language. Now, transitional education introduces "... *some* degree of training in the native language(s) . . . into the early grades in the hope of reducing the children's sense of alienation in an English-speaking world. (However,) its goals go no further than to produce what is called 'transitional bilingualism,' a step on the way to integration into the English-speaking world . . . it is hardly less discriminatory than earlier (assimilation) policies, since it does not provide for advanced training in (the native language) and does not give communities any hope of continuing to exist as ethnic identities within our country." (Haugen 1974: 36). Maintained education, on the other hand, encourages the maintenance of the mother tongue; and language maintenance, in fact, has *never* been discouraged by specialists in the field of English as a second language. Instead, it is the thesis of this paper that TESOL and bilingual education, although not absolutely synonymous, are certainly and thoroughly compatible.

However, there is an unfortunate polarization which seems to be developing between teachers of English to speakers of other languages and their bilingual education colleagues. As Bernard Spolsky has explained it to me, the argument goes something like this: A particular ethnic group will say,

> "In the beginning you did nothing for us. First, there was the Direct Method, and that prohibited the use of the native language. You ignored us and our language. And then, seeing that people didn't know English, you decided that you have to *teach* them properly. And the *method* of teaching them English was called TESOL. It is a *method* and it comes out of Washington, D.C., and it's linguistics. Then there needs to be an advance over that because that ignores the students' native language, and so the next stage is bilingual education, and that's *another* method that comes out of somewhere else, maybe Miami, or Texas. Then there's an even higher stage, and that's bicultural education. One begins to wonder what the next 'method' is, and learns that next in the sequence is bilingual/bicultural education, and that that is the new 'method,' which is going to supplant that which came before and which in turn supplanted what came before that, and so on, ad infinitum. TESOL, in that progression, is the thing that preceded bilingual education; it is now out of date, and has to be replaced."

The sad part about all this is that such misconceptions have been perpetuated in some supposedly "scholarly" publications. For example, take the following: ". . . any *method* of teaching a second language that stresses only skills, e.g. the Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), is not going to produce a bicultural individual." (Ulibarri 1968: 231, emphasis added) Or the following: ". . . when the TESOL *movement* came into prominence, many people were hopeful that this would alleviate the problem(s) of underachievement . . ." (Ulibarri 1968: 243–44, emphasis added). What is not understood is that TESOL is *not* a method, *nor* a movement. It is either the *field*, or the professional *organization*, both of which are in a state of dynamic, relevant, ever-changing development.

These arguments from false assumptions, this penchant for stereotype, are simply reflections of an immature search for panaceas and easy solutions to deep social and educational problems. There is, of course, something *artificial* in this "freezing" of "methods" or "movements" in an attempt to understand history. The freezing procedure is something like taking a single frame of a movie film and studying it. It gives a photograph, with all the virtues and weaknesses of a photograph, as a representative of changing and developing institutions or organisms. We try to make our subject manageable, but we have to buy manageability at the cost of losing complete realism.

People who try to "freeze" history and argue from stereotypes, act as though TESOL has been asleep, like Rip Van Winkle, for the past thirty-five years. They are wrong! They are engaging in a not-so-subtle form of bigotry. As someone once said, those who fan the flames of bigotry are building a fire under their own house. Their arguments are simplistic, confusing, abysmally ignorant, pernicious, malicious, insidious, and mischievous. They create a divisiveness that does not help *any* of us. 'TESOL is bad. Bilingualism is good.' But all this depends on how we understand these terms, and how we define them. A very solid professional colleague in ESOL *and* bilingual education was quoted not too long ago in a Canadian newspaper as saying that "Bilingualism is a danger." What this person meant, of course, was that forcing all French-speakers in Canada to learn English, presented the danger of subordinating the mother tongue, causing assimilation, and eventually eradicating French. What his colleague was advocating was the subordination of *English* to the position of a *second* (i.e., *secondary*) language, and the maintenance of French as the *primary*, or dominant language. Yet, in the U.S., the statement that "bilingualism is dangerous" would be taken to mean the exact opposite: i.e., that native language maintenance is *not* a good thing. Thus, if we are not careful of our definitions, and of the sociocultural settings in which we cast them, everything we believe in and agree about, may turn out to be "bad." We must keep our own lines straight and keep the people who make our laws, implement them, and interpret them, straight in *their* thinking.

I should like to dispel some of the misconceptions that may be contributing to the polarization about which I have been speaking. First, we must not lose sight of the fact that among the main characteristics of the teaching of English as a second language in the United States, has been the fact that this field has from its inception been inextricably intertwined with the field of linguistics. It is natural, therefore, that following our colleagues, the linguists, we in the field of English as a second language have placed great importance on the primacy of language—and of spoken language at that! However, it must be remembered that the first linguists were also anthropologists and that by definition (or rather, by profession) were also interested in the culture of any language that they might be studying. Further, the linguists contributed to our view of language their *scientific attitude* which insisted upon the objective observation of facts and began with the dispelling of myths, misconceptions, and prejudices about language which had often been used by insecure people, who were in important positions, to assert their superiority over those less fortunate than themselves. These self-styled shamans used inaccurate information about the nature of language as a weapon for discrimination against their fellow human beings. What is most unfortunate is that these human beings were often defenseless young children. The linguists, on the other hand, felt that all languages were worthy of study in and of themselves, and that each language was specifically well suited to carry on the business of the culture whose vehicle of communication it was.

Among the most important contributions that linguistics has made to the teaching of English as a second language is the concept of contrastive analysis, and we must emphasize here that the linguists and those who follow them insisted upon both a contrastive *linguistic* analysis *and* a contrastive *cultural* analysis of source and target languages *and* cultures.

TESOL, the field and the organization, is founded upon the philosophy of language teaching enunciated long ago by Charles C. Fries. It is designed to break the shackles of monolingualism and bring about mutual respect and understanding among people of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. As far back as 1955, Fries wrote

> . . . the fundamental purpose . . . of language teaching is to achieve an understanding, as complete as possible, between people of different linguistic backgrounds. (p. 10) . . . To deal with the culture and life of a people is *not just an adjunct* . . . but an *essential feature at every stage of language learning*. (p. 14, emphasis added)

In view of statements made by Fries, one of the acknowledged leaders of the field of TESOL, it is somewhat surprising to hear people who should know better, accuse teachers of English as a second language of "linguistic imperialism" and "cultural aggressiveness." These accusations are simply not well-founded. Taking the lead from the linguists, teachers of English as a second language have always held an "additive" rather than a "replacive" philosophy when they have taught standard English as a second language or second dialect. (See Robinett 1972: 204) That is, they have attempted to add a new variety of language to a student's repertoire rather than to eradicate or replace one which he or she already possesses. ESOL teachers have hoped to impart to their students the ability to switch codes instinctively so as to use that language or that dialect which is most appropriate and which evokes the greatest amount of cooperation and the least amount of resistance in any given situation. From the standpoint of culture, this philosophy views differing cultures as *complementary* rather than *contradictory* ways of organizing the social world.

A majority of teachers of English as a second language have been, and still are, bilingual and bicultural individuals themselves. A large number of them have been Fulbright scholars whose success depended on sympathy for, empathy with, and a knowledge of, the language and culture of the country to which they were sent to teach. Fulbrighters who did not believe that they had as much to learn from the people of the host country as they had to teach, were not worth their salt, and frequently failed in their assignments. The truly successful Fulbrighters were those who really believed that they were embarking on a *reciprocal*, hence *mutual*, educational exchange experience. And, all the while, we were teaching ESL to large numbers of foreign students on American university campuses, often ridiculed by our colleagues in other departments because we felt it was as important to know other people's languages and cultures as it was for them to learn about ours. I am convinced that it is these early leaders in ESL who made such a great contribution to the exploding of the "melting pot" myth and the replacing of it by the idea of cultural pluralism. Certainly a profession which has had such leaders as Charles C. Fries and Mary Finocchiaro cannot be accused of trying to impose linguistic and cultural patterns of any one group upon any other. Teachers of English as a second language have *always* recognized the dual language and dual cultural basis of bilingualism!

Yet, these same teachers have also been accused of going about their work in a mechanical and unfeeling manner. They are accused of overemphasizing drills, mimicry, and memorization to the denigration of cultural, literary, and humanistic aspects of the language they were teaching, or to the exclusion of considerations of student motivation and aptitude. One such accusation goes as follows: "The *sole* objective of English as a second language is to make non-English speakers more competent in English." (Cranston 1974: 59, emphasis supplied) This criticism, too, is unfair and ill-founded. The passage from Fries which I quoted a moment ago bears repetition: Remember, he said that " . . . the culture and the life of a people is *not just an adjunct* . . . but an *essential feature at every stage of language learning*." (Fries 1955: 14) We must also remember that another leader of the TESOL field, Robert Lado, wrote a book called *Linguistics Across Cultures*, published in 1957, in which he advocated linguistic as well as *cultural* contrastive analyses. As Fries said in the Foreword to Lado's book:

> His comparisons demanded more and more complete descriptions, including not only the narrowly linguistic features but a wide selection of the *social-cultural* (emphasis supplied) features in which the languages operated. He found similar 'blind spots' that must be overcome if sound *intercultural understanding* (italics mine) was to be achieved—the fundamental objective of all language teaching. (p. v)

Another acknowledged leader of TESOL, Albert H. Marckwardt, says:

> It may be reasonably maintained that contrastive cultural analyses are equally important in terms of the aims of language study . . . (1961: 153)

Clifford Prator, Robert Kaplan, and other leaders in the field have repeatedly affirmed the importance of cultural aspects in the language teaching curriculum.

I believe that people who make unfounded accusations against the TESOL profession have not read any of C. C. Fries' writings, or Mary Finocchiaro's, or those of any of our other acknowledged leaders, and do not know the first thing about TESOL.

I must confess that I have found it very difficult to understand the source of these accusations and the rationale behind them. A possible explanation has been provided by Heidi Dulay and Marina Burt. It seems that, somewhere in the development of TESOL as a field and as an organization, it has become associated with "compensatory" rather than with "quality education." This association is, in turn, related to specific pieces of Federal legislation such as Title I of the ESEA and the Head Start Program. As Bruce Fraser has said in another context,

> "Many of (these) programs contained a language intervention component designed to 'improve' the language of the children in the program—to improve the language so that the children could eventually acquire the language of the educated white middle class—Standard English. It was psychologists such as Bereiter and Englemann who argued that many minority children . . . had an inferior, deficient language, and thus needed special *compensatory* education." (Fraser 1974: 94, emphasis added)

We in TESOL, on the other hand, have spent a good part of our lives, our entire careers, in fact, in trying to convince the public that the children we wish to teach are *not* backward, *not* mentally inferior, *nor* stupid—they are simply *speakers of other languages.*

As William Labov (1970) has written regarding the genetic inferiority and verbal deprivation theory: "That educational psychology should be strongly influenced by a theory so false to the facts of language is unfortunate; but that children should be the victims of this ignorance is intolerable." He condemns this view as "bad observation, bad theory, and bad practice." (p. 34) At the 20th Georgetown University Round Table in 1969, I believe we succeeded in exposing these theories. But perhaps this is where I made my mistake. I assumed the job was finished. This is probably why I could not understand how anybody could possibly associate TESOL with compensatory education. TESOL has steadfastly rejected the notion that non-English-speaking children were *culturally* disadvantaged. We have specifically *rejected* the theory that these children are victims of inferior culture, or inferior socialization by inadequate parents, or a stifling of cognitive stimulation in the preschool years, or an inferior intellectual endowment. We have *opposed* the isolation of these children in special classes for the socially and emotionally disturbed. We have insisted that teachers must be *educated,* rather than merely trained, to respect the potential strengths of the linguistically different rather than be armed by a set of mythologies, masquerading as theories of social science, which only discourage the youth of ethnic minorities from investing in education. We have insisted that ESOL is not synonymous with "remedial English" or "remedial reading," but consists of a highly specialized form of English instruction. (Caution: As historian, I note a parallel development of false accusations and attacks being levied against bilingual education.)

There may, indeed, be a handful of people who teach ESOL and who are in fact perpetrating the kind of abuses of which the whole profession has been accused. There are some who would reduce the training of teachers to the development of teaching skills used in a replicative sense. But, these people are not the qualified, educated, experienced, and dedicated TESOL experts whom the profession recognizes as leaders in the field. We have insisted that to be a qualified member of the TESOL profession requires a considerable amount of rigorous and highly specialized preparation.

In May of 1970 a conference was held during which a statement of qualifications and guidelines for preparation of teachers of English to speakers of other languages was developed. Eight broad guidelines were adopted regarding the minimum requirements in the preparation of a specialist in TESL/TEFL. Among these eight, three in particular are relevant to the matter at hand:

> 1. (The teacher of English as a second language should) have personal qualities which contribute to his/her success as a classroom teacher, insure understanding and respect for students and their cultural setting, and make the teacher a perceptive and involved member of his/her community.
> 3. (The teacher of English as a second language should) have had the experience of learning another language and acquiring a knowledge of its structure; and have a conscious perception of another cultural system. If possible, the language and cultural system should be related to that of the population with which he/she is to work.
> 8. (The teacher of English as a second language should) have a sophisticated understanding of the factors which contribute to the life styles of various peoples, and which determine both their uniqueness and their interrelationships in a pluralistic society. (Statement of qualifications, 1975: 73)

The preface to these guidelines, written by Albert H. Marckwardt, states that they were not specifically designed for teachers in bilingual schools, but admits that they would clearly have many elements in common with the preparation of such teachers. (*Cf.* Statement of qualifications, p. 72.) What we are saying is that TESOL and bilingual education are inextricably intertwined. They are mutually supportive and natural allies. The TESOL guidelines demonstrate that the field of English as a second language and bilingual and bicultural education are thoroughly compatible. Indeed, I believe we can all agree that English as a second language is an essential component of any good bilingual education program. The mother language and culture are equally essential, and I believe we can all agree that it is better to teach children to read and write in their native languages before introducing them to the second language, and that instruction and literacy in the home language is an effective means for teaching children both subject matter-and-content *and* English. I believe we can also agree that teacher *education* is in the heart of the matter, and that many, many more opportunities for teacher education, as well as education for teacher trainers, is the prime desideratum for TESOL *and* bilingual education.

What we need is more cooperation between, and a coalition of, teachers of English as a second language and specialists in bilingual education who would work together toward a common purpose, and that purpose is to help thousands of children throughout the United States to reach their full potential as citizens of our increasingly complex and troubled society. Such cooperation will contribute to the solution of our most pressing national problems—the problems of our poverty-stricken minorities; the crowded urban ghetto, the beleaguered ethnic barrio, the alienated immigrant colony, and the isolated Indian reservation. No less pressing is the task of sensitizing the middle class majority to the valuable roles and the rights of minorities in our society.

There are those who are fearful that the Bilingual Education Act has sounded the last note of doom for TESOL. Some people find cause for despair in this prospect, while others may even rejoice in it. But if that gong should sound, ask not for whom the bell tolls, for it tolls for *all* of us. But there is no cause for despair, for TESOL has never been stronger. It is strong because it has been relevant and responsive throughout its existence, as reflected in the development of its "domains." TESOL, the field and the organization, has great vitality and a sense of youthful idealism and social mission that distinguishes it from all other professional organizations. TESOL is built on an *idea*, based on a humanistic approach toward removing the so-called "curse of Babel." Our abiding belief in cultural and linguistic pluralism and in equality of educational opportunity seems to unite us and to give us that special excitement and relevance that no other organization or field has.

The idea of multilingualism and multiculturalism dates back much farther than the passage of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968:

> There is, in Genesis, an intriguing tale about the origin of language diversity, well-known as the 'Tower of Babel' story. We are told, in the King James Version, that 'the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech.' But then pride fills the hearts of men, so that they are misled into trying to build 'a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven.' The Lord Jehovah comes down to earth and decides to punish this presumption, perhaps worried that men might usurp His omnipotence, for 'now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do.' In His infinite wisdom He proceeds to 'confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech.' They are no longer able to cooperate in the building of their tower, and are 'scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth.' (Haugen 1974: 33)

I wish I were so eloquent as to have written that last passage. It was written by Einar Haugen, author of *Bilingualism in the Americas* and many other works on the subject. Linguistic diversity, Haugen explains, was a curse laid upon men for their sinful pride. But, he continues:

> Those of us who love languages and have devoted their lives to learning and teaching them, and who find language a source of novel delights and subtle experience, find it hard to put ourselves in the right frame of mind to understand the conception of language diversity as a curse.

Haugen argues that bilingualism offers the most humane way to bridge the communication gap and "mitigate the curse of BABEL."

Language is not a problem, Haugen says, unless it is used as a basis for discrimination. Attempts at removing God's "curse" have ranged from neighborly tolerance to rigid isolation; from eager acceptance of a new language to brutal suppression of its speakers. Some argue that language differences stand in the way of progress and should be eliminated by a ruthless policy of assimilation; others wish to preserve language enclaves in the name of ethnic variety and the sacredness of mother tongues. Some extremists, for example, would go as far as to advocate the abolition of English and the substitution of some other language as the national language of the U.S. This would be like my advocating Greek as the national language. In fact, there was a time when Greek was proposed, as was Hebrew, to be the national language of this country!

William Gifford, the bitterly anti-American editor of the *Quarterly Review*, is authority for the story that at the close of the Revolution certain members of Congress proposed that the use of English be formally prohibited in the United States, and Hebrew substituted for it. Bristed, in his essay, The English Language in America, makes the proposed tongue Greek, and reports that the change was rejected on the ground that 'it would be more convenient for us to keep the language as it is, than make the English speak Greek.' (Mencken 1937: 79.) (Imagine what would be happening today if I were speaking in Greek!)

Haugen proposes two humanistic solutions to the "curse of Babel" by men of good will:

(1) deliberately to inculcate, and to promote by means of education, a spirit in the general population of interest and understanding of minority peoples, and
(2) to make sure that people who speak differently understand and are understood, if necessary by making them bilingual.

The members of TESOL are humanists, and people of good will: These two solutions have been the mission of TESOL since its inception.

As one scholar has written, linguists believe that:

> Language is perhaps the most specifically human of mankind's faculties. In striving towards the understanding and knowledge of language, man has, throughout his intellectual history, been seeking more fully to attain self-knowledge, and to obey the injunction that faced the visitor to Apollo's temple at Delphi, the center of the ancient Greek world, where our civilization finds its source. The injunction was:
> ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ (KNOW THYSELF) (Robins 1967: 233)

Linguists believe that language is the one thing that separates humans from the lower animals. It is the vehicle through which we make known our most vital needs. It is that most peculiar and typical attribute of the very amusing being that we call human. A linguist considers language to be paramount in all intellectual and human endeavors.

There are those who tend, in their pronouncements, to polarize, polemicize, and politicize the field of language study at a time when we should all best "hang together." I would advise such people to ameliorate some of their rhetoric, their "rhetorical overkill," as it were, so that we may all be able to present a united front to the Congress, to the general public, to our colleagues in the U.S. Office of Education, and to those ethnocentric, xenophobic, chauvinistic administrators "who are congenitally and professionally hostile to language minorities" (Haugen 1974:41) and whose ultimate aim in life is to homogenize all of humanity.

But first we must put our own house in order. We must strive to "know ourselves" as professionals and as a profession. We must be a *unified* profession and masters of its fate. The TESOL and bilingual education segments of the profession must learn to live together in a new symbiotic relationship.

It is not uncommon for two fields such as TESOL and bilingual education to have a common stated goal but, because of the professional anarchy which prevails, for one group to neutralize the other. The proliferation, duplication, and internecine conflict among organizations consumes energy and displaces constructive programs needed for development of an effective profession. We need planned integration of interrelated language groups, ATESL, TESOL, NABE, LSA, ACTFL, NCTE, MLA, and CAL, each with specialized functions, all directed toward common purposes.

Unfortunately, teachers at all levels and in all fields have habitually *reflected*, not led, the forces of society. If the language profession is to acquire and maintain the intellectual strength and political power necessary in these troubled times, a new concept of the professional, and a new concept of a unified professional entity must be created. We must recognize that jurisdictional battles are a waste of energy and that they frustrate the realization of our common goals. It is *we* who are being weakened, not the laymen who do not know our history or understand our mission. We often allow laymen to make decisions of a professional nature about our own profession. This control of our profession by laymen becomes more and more entrenched if we fail in what is perhaps our most important educational mission, and that is the education of those Congressmen, lawyers, and Supreme Court Justices who conduct the important affairs of our nation. We must learn to control ourselves and govern our own profession. Those organizations which use their energies to produce such a unified professional entity will ultimately receive the backing of the majority of teachers, of the American people, and of the Government which represents them. And, while we must develop programs that are clearly influenced by social imperatives, which reflect the urgencies of our times, which relate directly to the primary issues of our times, we must remember that governments do not fund programs to overthrow themselves. We must educate the general public about our profession; *we* must have the final word on teacher education; we must establish and maintain machinery for protection of competent and ethical teachers; we must abandon our own petty provincialisms; and we must maintain and support only the most *effective*, and *honest*, professional organizations. Our teaching will never be as effective as it should be until we learn to govern our own profession. The very nature of successful teaching derives from the involvement which provides the dynamics of self-fulfillment, improvement, productive change, and intellectual liberation.

Cooperation Between Bilingual Education and English as a Second Language: Our Children's Legacy[1]

ALBAR PEÑA
University of Texas at San Antonio, President, NABE

I am glad to have the opportunity to come before you as the president of the recently organized National Association for Bilingual Education to establish a dialogue between the two areas which are vital to each organization, namely, Bilingual Education and English as a Second Language.

I know that in the past, rightly or wrongly, there has existed some rivalry between the two areas simply because there was little known or a lack of understanding of the whole concept of bilingual education and its relationship to ESL. On the one hand, there were those who felt that the "only" solution to the educational problems of the linguistically different children was a massive dose of English as a second language, and presto!—these problems would be resolved. On the other hand, there were those who further confused the issues by believing that teaching English as a second language to "non-English speaking children," was indeed bilingual education.

I believe that at this point in time, the many projects that are now being implemented to try out different approaches in bilingual education, and the tremendous amount of information from the research conducted to date, bears out the importance of complete cooperation between ESL and bilingual education. If one is serious about trying to educate our children in the best way possible and wishes to obtain maximum results, both English as a second language and bilingual education must co-exist.

If we, the professionals in both fields, can articulate clearly the practical implications of cooperation, teachers will be able to make the best instructional decisions on behalf of the children they are teaching.

We in bilingual education have maintained, and will continue to maintain, that ESL is a vital part of any education program for children whose dominant language is not English. In his paper, Dr. Alatis (this volume) clearly delineated the objectives and functions of ESL in bilingual education. I believe that without ESL, as defined by Dr. Alatis, our bilingual education programs will not succeed.

However, the teaching of ESL with a bicultural perspective is not enough. We must insure that our children receive adequate subject matter instruction while they are learning English; we must insure that they are given the opportunity to continue developing their own language; we must insure that the school environment does not erode the self-esteem and cultural pride our children bring with them to school. These priorities require different expertise than ESL training alone provides.

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[1] **Plenary address delivered at the 1975 TESOL Convention, Los Angeles.**

The task of bilingual educators today is, therefore, not a duplication of, nor in competition with, the work that is being done in TESOL. It is, rather, a complementary endeavor. We in bilingual education must develop and refine approaches and methods of *subject matter instruction through the native languages and cultures of our children.* So far, we have accomplished a great deal in making bilingual education a national priority. We have the Bilingual Education Act and the Supreme Court decision in favor of Lau in the *Lau v. Nichols* case, as well as the *Aspira v. New York City Board of Education* settlement. We have federal funding that is relatively generous in times of economic austerity. And we have legislation mandating or encouraging bilingual education in almost half of the states in the country. Now, the pressing need is to make sure that bilingual education *remains* a national priority and becomes an integral part of American education; we must also attend to the difficult and often thankless task of *implementing* the objectives of bilingual education. To do this, we need a sound research program to answer the many questions raised by program planners and curriculum developers. Take, for example, the following questions: What effect, if any, does bilingual instruction have on the acquisition of English? Given the goals of a community, how can bilingual instruction best be effected: through personnel "division of labor" in team teaching (one Spanish instructor, one English instructor for the same group of students), through subject matter divisions (some subjects taught in the dominant language, some in English), time divisions (mornings in one language, afternoons in the other), etc. What are the dynamics of concept transfer from one language to another? How can we make testing and evaluation meaningful for minority groups? The list of questions for which no definitive research is available could go on endlessly. I hope only to inspire you to channel your energies towards activities that will be productive and meaningful for bilingual education.

It is clear that there is enough work to do for all of us, either in any of the areas I mentioned, or in ESL. I shall not take a stand here about which area deserves highest priority. After all, we are not a homogeneous group, nor should we be; and in the end we are all serving the same population. Rather, I earnestly hope that each and everyone of us attending this Convention will consider our shared responsibilities as educators. Let me repeat that *we are basically serving the same population*—the linguistically and culturally different children. It is obvious that these children have unique educational needs that must be met if they are to succeed. Therefore what concerns us here is making the appropriate instructional decisions for each of the children we will be teaching.

As I stated before, both English as a Second Language and Bilingual Education, go "hand in hand together." So once again, I must urge everyone concerned with the education of these children to work together, cooperatively, to insure that the best "package" is designed to educate our children to their fullest potential. This is what concerns us—making the best instructional decisions regardless of personal preference, as long as the children are the beneficiaries of the best possible educational process. We must capitalize on those national resources that are part and parcel of each individual's intellectual make-up.

One could go on arguing back and forth about the merits and demerits of each field being talked about here today—ESL and Bilingual Education. However, we all know that within the whole educational spectrum, each has its rightful place when it comes to educating our children to their fullest potential.

Let us, today, decide that as TESOL and NABE (National Association for Bilingual Education), we shall sincerely, earnestly, and continuously strive to always work cooperatively and to assure that future generations of linguistically and culturally different populations will succeed, because these two national organizations put aside whatever petty differences existed and are now working together for the benefit and success of all our children undergoing our educational process.

SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Creative Construction in Second Language Learning and Teaching[1]

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INTRODUCTION

Those of you who have taught English for many years know a great deal about how a second language is learned, probably far more than research to date has been able to confirm. In fact, research in our field, as in most other educational fields, is in the peculiar position of catching up to what perceptive teachers have already intuited from their teaching experience. This may be in part responsible for one of the frustrations most frequently expressed by teachers today—the lack of adequate language teaching materials—that is, materials that are consistent with what teachers feel students need to learn a language. There is probably not an experienced teacher who has not significantly modified available language curricula in recent years; or who, lacking the extra energy, has not gone through many lessons halfheartedly, knowing deep down that they won't work anyway.

Too often we teach our hearts out to no avail. Even students who participate actively in class drills and exercises seem to forget what they did correctly in class when they're outside of class, and for some reason revert back to the imperfect English we're all so familiar with.

One of Sue Ervin-Tripp's favorite anecdotes about her ESL experiences illustrates this very clearly. One of her students asked her to give a lesson on the pattern "What does X mean?", as the student was having trouble formulating that question. Sue very enthusiastically gave a substantial lesson on it in class, making use of all the available drill techniques. A few minutes after the class, the student stopped her in the hall and, pointing to a newspaper headline, asked "Ms. Ervin, what means this?"! As the student was obviously sincere about the question, all she could do was answer it, trying not to show the utter dismay and frustration she felt. (It is not surprising then, that she is one of the pioneers in second language acquisition research!)

Not only do students *not* use structures they have just practiced successfully in class drills, they also use structures they haven't been taught yet. It is not uncommon to hear sophisticated phrases like "Go on, get out of here" or "He did it!" from children who are just beginning to learn English. To the detriment of the teacher's ego, she/he cannot take the credit for that learning.

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[1] Plenary session address presented by Heidi C. Dulay at the 1975 TESOL Convention.

It often seems that students learn despite the method and despite the materials. Indeed, in recent years we have begun to realize that the inadequacies of curriculum materials are not trivial—they are not due merely to random individual differences in the personalities of teachers or students. The problem is more pervasive—namely, that available materials do not reflect what we now know about how a second language is learned.

These observations are not intened to fault second language educators who must respond to needs when they arise, with whatever means are available. If we find students in our schools who need to learn to speak English, then we must do all we can to help them learn it. After all, we cannot ask the U.S. Immigration Bureau to close down while we're doing research on second language learning. Nor can we ignore the millions of American citizens who speak a language other than English. Neither can we ask countries abroad to wait to develop English programs until the necessary research on language learning is done. Anyone in education must act when the need arises, and we have done so.

The national and international demand to respond immediately to the large scale need for oral English instruction is not, however, the only reason for the less-than-perfect state of the art of ESL. In the rush to respond to the needs of millions of children and adults needing English second language instruction, teaching methods and curricula were developed, based on the linguistic and psychological theories of the day. However, as most of you already know, these principles—the principles underlying structural linguistics and those of habit formation—have slowly but systematically been eroded by Chomsky and his colleagues in generative linguistics and by Piaget and his colleagues in cognitive developmental psychology. Today we are reaping the benefits of their insights and theoretical advances.

We have also learned that we cannot borrow learning theories that have been developed for other fields, such as the conditioning of animal behavior (on which the habit formation theory of language learning is based), without first verifying their applicability to second language learning. That is, the principles that govern how rats learn to push a lever, or how a pigeon learns to push a button to release a missile, do not necessarily govern how human beings learn a language. Animal studies may provide clues, as may learning theories developed to account for various areas of human behavior, but it is essential that we conduct rigorous and systematic observations of the speech and environments of children and adults learning a second or foreign language before we adopt any learning theory for application in the language classroom. Linguistic descriptions alone are not enough either, because although they systematically describe the language to be learned, they do not tell us *how* a language is actually learned.

The search for the particular principles that govern second language learning is one of the major tasks of our profession. It is not the responsibility of theoretical linguists or psychologists, whose major focus is not the language classroom. It is *our* responsibility because we are ultimately responsible for the learning theories used in the language classroom. It is therefore with great pleasure that we take this opportunity to share with you some exciting recent discoveries about the process of second language learning, and their implications for classroom practice.

RESEARCH AND THEORETICAL ISSUES

The most productive research in second language learning during the last decade has included research on both children and adults.[1] The investigations have focused on three general areas: first, the affective domain for adults, that is, the attitudes and motivation, and sociocultural factors that influence adult second language learning; second, adult error analysis, the purpose of which has been to discover systematicity and universality in the speech of adult second language learners; and third, the investigation of the creative construction process in children, where the major effort has been to develop a theory or account of child second language acquisition which is consistent with observations and analyses of the developing speech of children learning a second language. The third area is the focus of this paper.

Let us begin by stating the basic premise that underlies most of the research that has been done on child second language acquisition: that the cognitive structure which all normal children possess plays a major role in the way they learn a second language. Given this premise, the basic research questions is NOT: how can we best fill up a child's head with a new language? rather, it is: *what is in the child's head that governs or guides what he learns?* This view of learning is obviously not new. It is the basis of Chomsky's work in linguistics, of Roger Brown's work in first language acquisition, and basically of Piaget's work in developmental psychology. An illustration of this framework (Figure 1) will help put into perspective the research we will discuss today.

Given that we cannot look inside the learner's head (PROCESS), we study the learner's developing speech (PRODUCT: errors, sequences of acquisition, etc.), in combination with the type of verbal and relevant non-verbal environment the learner is exposed to (e.g. is the

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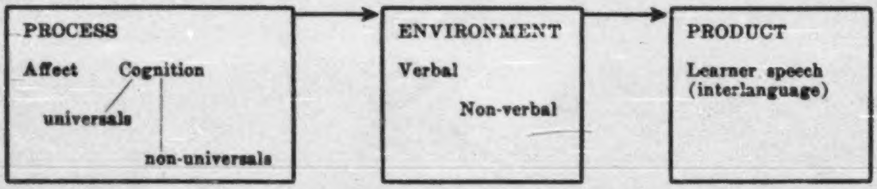
[1] For the purpose of this paper, by children we mean learners four or five to about eight or nine years old, and by adults we mean learners over twelve or thirteen years old.

FIGURE 1



learner exposed to natural speech, or formal instruction; is he/she exposed to Standard English or another dialect, to peer speech or adult speech?) From these observations we should be able to infer the nature of the cognitive structures responsible for language learning.

Most of the work that has been done so far has focused on syntax acquisition. Therefore, the comments we will make today refer to syntax acquisition and not to phonology, vocabulary, discourse rules or speech styles, the acquisition of which may be the result of processes different from those that may account for the acquisition of syntax.

THE COMPARISON OF L2 AND L1 ACQUISITION

The early work in child second language (L2) acquisition (''early'' meaning four to six years ago) emphasized the comparison of the developing structures children produced in first language (L1) acquisition. For example, Ravem (1974) at the University of Essex studied the acquisition of English *wh*-questions by his Norwegian-speaking son and daughter over a period of four months. He found that the intermediate steps his children went through in the acquisition of *wh*-questions were the same as those that Brown's L1 research children Adam, Eve and Sarah went through. That is, the children used structures like *Where Daddy go?* and *Where Daddy is going?* before they produced the mature form *Where is Daddy going?* Milon (1974) in Hawaii studied the acquisition of English negation by a Japaness-speaking child named Ken over a six month period. Like Ravem, he found that Ken used basically the same sequence of structure types that Adam, Eve, and Sarah had used in the acquisition of English negation. Ravem also mentioned that the transitional structures used by his children while they were learning English did not reflect interference from their native Norwegian. Had the children used Norwegian, they would have said *Where go Daddy?* Instead, they produced *Where Daddy go?*, just like first language learners. The same is true for Milon's Japanese child. Although Milon did not analyze his data in terms of interference from Japanese, a comparison of Ken's transitional negative structures to Japanese negation also showed that they had no resemblance to his native Japanese. (Dulay and Burt 1972 and 1974a)

These findings provided the first bits of evidence that the process of child second language acquisition is similar in important respects to the general process described by Brown, Cazden, Slobin and others for first language acquisition. Milon and Ravem looked at the speech product of their subjects—the developing *wh*-questions and negatives—and suggested that the L2 acquisition process may well be similar to that of L1. This has also been suggested by Susan Ervin-Tripp (1974), Vivian Cook (1969) and others.

INTERFERENCE

Developmental structures, by definition contain errors. If, as we have seen, the developmental structures of first and second language learners are similar, it implies that second language learners are making the same kinds of errors that first language learners make. This is quite different from the types of errors that traditional second language learning theory predicts. The major source of errors is supposed to be due to the differences between the first and second language as specified by a contrastive analysis of both languages. Thus, when learning the syntax of a second language, the learners should tend to use the structures of their native language when they are trying to speak the second language—that is, they should suffer from first language interference. But Ravem and Milon's data do not show L1 syntactic interference. Instead, the second language errors of the children are similar to first language errors, and we know that first language errors cannot be due to interference from another language, because there was no previous language learned.

When we think about second language learners however, it is natural to expect that the experience of having learned one language already must in some way affect the learning of a second language. After all, past experience is always used, for better or for worse, in new situations. There have been other studies that have investigated this issue. Natalicio and Natalicio (1971) studied the acquisition of English plurals by native Spanish speaking children in Grades 1, 2, 3 and 10. They studied 144 males, 36 in each grade, half native English speakers, and half native Spanish speakers, using a test similar to the Berko (1958) "wug" test. Spanish plurals are formed by adding /s/ (*casas*) and /es/ (*mujeres*), and English plurals are formed by adding /s/ (*cats*), /z/ (*dogs*) and /ɨz/ (*judges*). If transfer from Spanish were operating, one would expect the order of acquisition to be:

/s/ only first
then /z/ and /ɨz/ together

because Spanish plurals are all voiceless, and voicing is the new feature English requires. What Natalicio and Natalicio did find was that /s/ and /z/ were learned first, and /ɨz/ was learned last.[2] Thus, the children did not transfer Spanish pluralization rules when they were learning English, otherwise, they would have learned /s/ alone first.

In a study that we (1974b) conducted we also found that syntactic interference from the first language was almost non-existent for Spanish children learning English in the United States. Out of 513 errors made by 179 children, less than 5% could be classified as interference errors, while 86% were the same type of errors that first language learners make. Similar findings were reported by E. Price (1968) who studied 21 English speaking children learning Welsh in Wales. Although Welsh word order is different from English in adjective and possessive constructions, English speaking children did not make word order errors while learning these constructions in Welsh. (See Dulay and Burt 1974a for a more complete treatment of the interference issue.)

Studies such as these make it clear that the shape of the surface structure of the first language, (the patterns of that language) is NOT automatically used when the child attempts to speak a new language. That is, interference defined as *the automatic transfer, due to habit, of the surface structure of the first language onto the surface of the target language* is virtually non-existent in child second language acquisition.

There are other phenomena that occur in second language learning which are often *labeled* interference, but which are in fact qualitatively different from the notion of interference just defined. For example, the use of a Spanish vocabulary word in an English sentence, such as, *I got a quarter for leche*, or *Tres more dias and we're going to the zoo*, (Cathcart, reported in E. Hatch 1974) does not show the transfer of Spanish structure onto English, since the syntax of English is maintained. Such "borrowing" of vocabulary items and phrases by bilingual or near bilingual speakers has been extensively documented by Weinreich (1953) and Haugen's (1953) work on the speech of bilinguals. The critical point here is that such borrowing is not automatic habit, nor is it uncontrollable by the speaker. Weinreich takes great pains to point out that such borrowing, together with the switching of language in mid-sentence, called code-switching, are phenomena that occur only when the speaker knows that the listener is also bilingual. Furthermore, speakers tend to inhibit code switching and borrowing when they know the listener is monolingual. A similar phenomenon which is also thought of as interference, is the use of mixed dialects (based on any two languages), such as Finglish, Chinglish, American Dutch, Italo-American, American Polish and Spanglish. Languages of a linguistic minority tend to undergo change when they are incontact with a majority language, and in the United States, they are influenced by English. Children who are exposed to a language which is undergoing or has undergone such change cannot be said to be suffering from interference, since they are simply learning the language or dialect to which they are exposed. (See Acosta-Belén, 1975 and this volume.)

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[2] This was true for both native Spanish and native English speakers. (Berko 1958 and Anisfeld and Tucker 1967).

Thus, although these phenomena have been labeled interference, we can easily see that they are entirely different from interference as defined by the habit formation account of second language learning, that is, that interference simply reflects the speaker's uncontrollable tendency to use first language habits in second language speech.

If Not L1 Surface Structure, What Transfers?

Interference is one predicted result of what is known in the psychological jargon as "transfer." Transfer in its most general sense simply means the use of what one already knows in new learning tasks. Traditional second language learning theory has defined "what one already knows" as the patterns of the language the learner already speaks. In other words, the actual patterns of the first language should be transferred to the second language in the process of learning the second language—when the patterns of L1 and L2 are different, the predicted result is interference or negative transfer; when they are the same the predicted result is immediate learning (positive transfer). In terms of the diagram above it is, in this view, the speech product that should transfer from the first to the second language.

As we have just seen, however, this type of transfer does not occur in the process of child second language syntax acquisition. Structures that are the same in both native and target languages are not necessarily learned first, as we saw from the Natalicio and Natalicio study (also Hernández 1972, Dulay and Burt 1974c, Wolfe 1967); nor do differences in structures result in significant first language interference, as we have seen from the studies of Milon, Ravem and others, as well as our own.

All of this does not mean that transfer does not occur in second language acquisition. Rather, the research shows only that *transfer of L1 syntactic patterns (product transfer)* rarely occurs. If, however, transfer is defined in terms of learning *process*, then transfer indeed occurs in L2 acquisition. That is, the general principles of reconstructing primary linguistic data used in L1 acquisition are also evident in L2 acquisition. For example, several basic similarities appear in the speech of children learning English as a first and second language: 1) They keep the grammatical frills to a minimum. That is, they omit grammatical morphemes such as verb endings, noun inflections, articles, auxiliaries and so forth, e.g., *He eat too much, That two dog.* 2) They use only minimal cues to signal different sentence types, e.g. *What you are doing?* 3) They overgeneralize, that is, they disregard exceptions to rules and use the regular forms of syntactic and morphological rules, e.g. *He eated too much; two mouses; She made me to come.* 4) They use double markings, e.g., *I didn't went.*

Process transfer does not imply that the speech product is identical for first and second language learners. In fact, children learning English as a second language create somewhat different and more sophisticated rules than those created by first language learners. For example, second language learners probably know that a language requires certain frills, such as grammatical morphemes. It is natural, then, that when learning a second language, they should tend to *overuse* or misuse some of these frills, since their past experience tells them that a language requires frills. This results in error types not typically made by first language learners. For example:

He nots eats.
She's dancings

Such examples merely reflect the learner's effort to pay tribute to certain language requirements, a principle learned through the first language learning experience or if you will, the metalinguistic awareness that comes with acquisition experience. The fact that second language learners are able to pay this tribute, that is, that they are able to use grammatical frills, albeit incorrectly, is simply a function of their age. Second language learners are older, more cognitively developed, and have a longer memory span than one and two year old children learning a first language. Thus, we should expect the use of some developing constructions that are more varied and, in some ways, more sophisticated than those used by first language learners.

An ongoing study on second language acquisition reported by Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann (1974) noted that more than one type of developing negative structure was produced by their three subjects at the early stages of English acquisition, while only one general type was found by Klima and Bellugi (1966) in their study of negative development for L1 learners. Cancino *et al.* considered their finding to be evidence for a difference in the basic process of L1 and L2 acquisition. However, such data simply confirms that older second language learners are more sophisticated, more experienced, and have a longer memory span than 1–4 year old first language learners.

Differences in the actual order of acquisition of certain elementary structures by L1 and L2 learners also reflect their differences in developmental stage. Although a common English acquisition order for nine grammatical morphemes was found for Spanish-and-Chinese-speaking children, the order was different from that found by Brown (1973) and the DeVilliers (1973) for their English L1 learners (Dulay and Burt 1974 c and d).

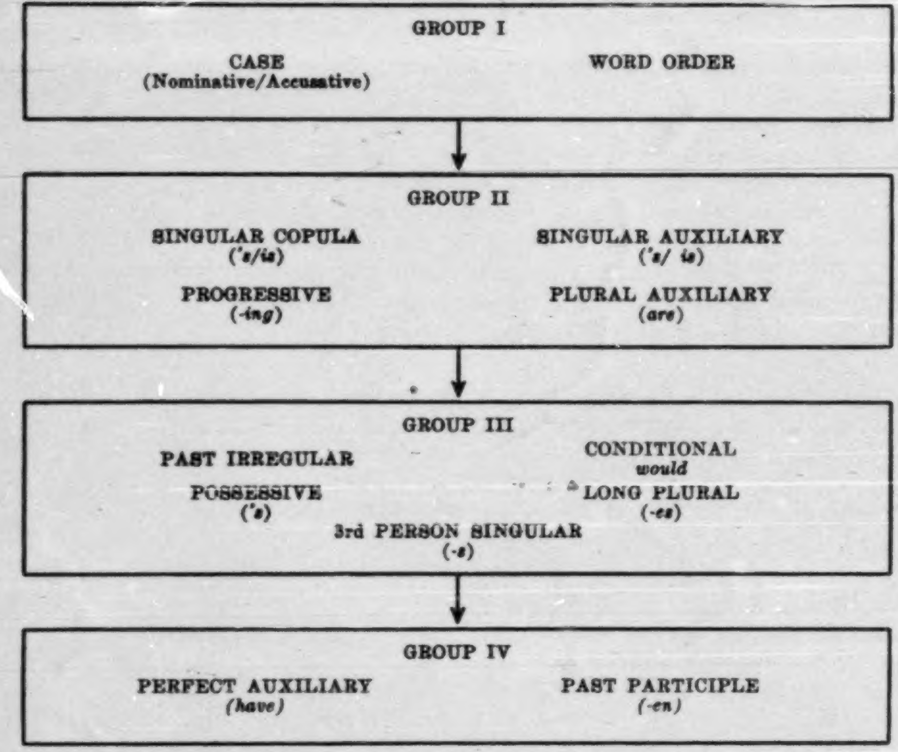
In sum, we have now arrived at a point in child L2 acquisition research where we can place L1 acquisition in proper perspective—where we can say with confidence that child L2 acquisition is a creative construction process as is L1 acquisition, but that the creative construction process in L2 acquisition has unique characteristics. The beginnings of the search for these characteristics is the focus of much of the present research effort in L2 acquisition.

HIERARCHICAL ORDERING IN CHILD L2 ACQUISITION

We would like now to bring you up to date on the latest findings in our on-going investigation of the universal aspects of the creative construction process in child L2 acquisition, by very briefly synthesizing the results of a series of studies we have conducted on the acquisition orders of certain English grammatical structures of Spanish and Chinese-speaking children. The data was collected using an expanded version of the *Bilingual Syntax Measure* (Burt, Dulay and Hernández 1975), which is primarily a testing instrument but, because it elicits natural speech from children, can also be used for the efficient gathering of speech data for basic research of this type. The speech data was analyzed using an exciting new analytical method for determining hierarchies, sometimes called the "tree method" (Bart and Krus 1973). There is no time here to describe the method in detail (See Dulay and Burt 1974d). Essentially, it reveals ordering relationships between items where no more than 5 or 6% of the subjects in a sample disconfirm the relationships. The tree method has been the most reliable and productive we have found for cross-sectional research on second language acquisition. It provides a tool for discovering both universality and variability in the learner's production of syntax.

Our major findings using the tree analysis are illustrated in Figure 2. Figure 2 represents an English acquisition order obtained for over 500 children in the process of learning English as a second language: 60 Spanish and 55 Chinese-speaking children in New York State (one sample), and 421 Spanish-speaking children in bilingual programs in ten states across the United States. The arrows connecting the boxes indicate the acquisition hierarchy, that is, the items in the box labeled Group I are acquired before the items in Group II. The items in Group I and II are acquired before those in Group III. Group IV items

FIGURE 2
Hierarchy of Child L2 Acquisition


GROUP I
CASE (Nominative/Accusative)
WORD ORDER
GROUP II
SINGULAR COPULA ('s/is)
SINGULAR AUXILIARY ('s/ is)
PROGRESSIVE (-ing)
PLURAL AUXILIARY (are)
GROUP III
PAST IRREGULAR
CONDITIONAL would
POSSESSIVE ('s)
LONG PLURAL (-es)
3rd PERSON SINGULAR (-s)
GROUP IV
PERFECT AUXILIARY (have)
PAST PARTICIPLE (-en)

are acquired last. No more than 6% of all the children studied disconfirm the hierarchy in Figure 2. (Structures that were not "universally" ordered are discussed in Dulay and Burt, 1975). Each of the items in the diagram is very narrowly and precisely defined linguistically (see Burt, Dulay and Hernandez, *Bilingual Syntax Measure Rationale and Technical Report,* 1975 for detailed definitions). However, the items themselves are not of primary importance. The significance of this acquisition order is not *which* items are ordered, but that *there is an order which is common* to so many children of diverse backgrounds.

Findings such as these provide the kind of support we need to affirm with confidence the major role of the creative construction process in second language learning, that is, that children gradually reconstruct rules for the speech they hear, guided by innate mechanisms which cause them to use certain strategies to organize linguistic input, until the mismatch between the language system they are exposed to and what they produce is resolved.

A question that often arises is: Does this also apply to adult L2 learning? Although there is no time to address this issue, let us just mention that there are some recent studies on acquisition order for adults learning a second language—studies by Krashen, Madden and Bailey (in this volume), B. Taylor (in this volume), (Larsen-Freeman 1975) and others, which suggest that adults too, have access to the creative construction process. To the extent that this turns out to be true, it would support Jespersen, Palmer and Sweet, who, as early as 1899 suggested a similar process of language acquisition for adults and children.

CLASSROOM IMPLICATIONS

Most second language curricula have not reflected the process of second language acquisition, simply because until recently, virtually nothing was known about the process. Most curriculum materials are based on general learning theory borrowed from behaviorist psychology. We now no longer need to borrow, as there is enough empirical research on how a second language is actually learned to suggest the general framework of the process. We know now that the shape of the learner's cognitive structure guides the second language learning process in important ways. We know that children in particular have the wonderful ability to extract the grammar of a language from the strings of unfamiliar words that make up a foreign language. It is the role, then, of the ESL teacher, to enhance creative construction. This in no way undermines the role of the ESL teacher. On the contrary, to the extent that language learning is a creative construction process, curriculum materials and techniques must be revised to reflect it.

Creative construction in the language classroom means that during a significant part of the language class natural communication situations are provided which allow learners to use their creative construction abilities to the fullest. A natural communication situation is not one where dialogues are memorized, or where students are asked unreal questions such as "What am I doing?" These kinds of activities are not appropriate because a natural communication situation is one where the focus of both the *speaker and the listener* is on the *message* being conveyed, not on the form of that message. This kind of situation is perhaps what is most conspicuously absent from most ESL materials, and the reason is simple: ESL lessons are intended to teach the forms of the English language, not to convey information about the real world. The message, therefore, is secondary and a look through most ESL lessons reveals that most carry no message at all, much less focus on one. If we wish to provide natural communication situations in the classroom, we must focus on the message, not on the form of the message. This does not mean we should not focus on the form of the language at all, but simply that when we wish to provide a natural communication situation in a particular lesson, form must take a back seat, which means we would not stop and correct children's speech during this activity in the ESL classroom; we would instead respond to the *content* of their utterances.

The problem that now arises is, if we don't focus on the form of the language, what should we do or talk about to provide natural communication situations? We believe that the criterion for a productive natural communication situation in an ESL (or any L2) classroom, at least for beginning students, is that the material to be presented be visually demonstrable. That is, the students should not need to rely on the verbal instructions or comments to "get the message." If they get the message visually, they can infer the correspondence between the form of the language used and the message. This condition, of course excludes a great number of topics that *require* verbal explanations to understand, such as the definition of inflation. However, it does include a variety of topics, for example, science experiments, games, or arts and crafts which are activities where principles can be demonstrated without having to rely on verbal communication. For example, principles of gravity or growth can be understood by children through simple demonstration. Any explanation by the teacher which accompanies such demonstrations provides the child exposure to natural speech. This kind of exposure is what is required to activate the language learning process in the child. And even if at first the children do not understand much of what the teacher is *saying*, they will understand what is going on, and gradually, as if by magic, the child will learn the syntax of the language. We believe that teaching something *through* the second language, specifically, demonstrable principles or activities, will enhance the creative construction process of second language learning.

The job of creating natural communication situations in the ESL class provides an opportunity for meaningful interaction between the ESL teacher and subject matter teachers. The ESL teacher might browse through some of the subject matter materials, which can suggest topics for the language class, that is, topics that are visually demonstrable. The use of such topics would supplement and reinforce subject matter presented in a different manner in the subject matter class. There are, of course, other techniques which provide the opportunity for natural communication that ESL teachers use already such as games, greetings, role playing and story telling via pictures and films.

We believe that these kinds of activities will be pleasant and rewarding for the language teacher, and will ensure a more productive and happier second language learner.

Language Background, Age and the Order of Acquisition of English Structures

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BACKGROUND

Investigators have for years attempted to identify which elements are necessary for successful second language learning. Studies have primarily focused upon the analysis of methods, materials, and programs to determine which seemed to be most effective in teaching a foreign language. Recent studies in second language learning have focused, however, not only on the learning environment, but also on the individual characteristics of the learner and how these characteristics affect the strategies he uses in learning a second language. One means of determining how an individual learns a foreign language is to study the order in which he acquires the structures of that language, as has been done by Dulay and Burt (1973, 1974 c and d), Milon (1974), Hakuta (1974), Bailey, Madden and Krashen (1974). In these studies, the analysis of the order of acquisition was based upon the correct usage of certain structures in natural speech.

The study reported in this paper also examined the sequence of acquisition of certain structures by children learning a second language. However, more controlled methods of elicitation have been used and a larger number of structures have been analyzed than in most previous studies.

The relationship between age, language background, learning environment and the order in which the structures studied were learned has also been examined. The examination of the order of learning and the effect that certain individual and environmental factors have upon this order can tell us more about the types of variables that seem to most strongly influence second language learning. This in turn may have implications for the types of classroom situations and teaching materials which should be provided for individual learners, in addition to providing information about the general nature of the second language acquisition process.

METHOD

Approximately 500 foreign students enrolled in schools in the Washington, D.C. area were given an oral production test (the SLOPE Test, see below) over the past year as part of an ongoing study of the second language acquisition process.

In this paper, the results of the testing of 120 Korean and Spanish students, aged 6–14 years, have been examined. These students were all from lower socio-economic homes where only their native language was spoken. They all had been enrolled in American public schools for approximately one year and had had no previous English instruction before coming to the United States. In all of the schools from which this population was drawn, the children were learning English primarily through immersion in the verbal environment of the school where all communication was in English. There was some variation in the programs as well as in the number of foreign students in these schools.

The Second Language Oral Production English Test (SLOPE Test), administered to these students, was designed to assess the ability of non-native English speaking children to produce standard English morphology and syntax. This test consists of twenty subtests with three items per subtest. The subtests which are listed in Table 1 in the order in which they appear in the test, have been selected to represent specific morpheme categories and syntactic patterns. These particular structures were selected for various reasons: 1) they can be elicited in an obligatory context, 2) many are consistently difficult for non-native English speakers, and 3) some have been studied in previous first and second language acquisition research (Brown 1973, Dulay and Burt 1974c and d).

The items within each subtest of the SLOPE Test represent certain phonetic, syntactic and semantic variants of the structure or pattern being tested. For example; the Affirmative-Declarative subtest consists of items representing three sentence patterns: subject + verb, subject + verb + object, subject + verb + object + indirect object; the Possessive and Plural subtests include items testing the three phonologically conditioned allomorphs /-s əz, -z/; the Pronoun subtests include items representing the masculine, feminine and plural pronoun forms.

Each of the sixty items on the test is represented by pictures. The questions are structured similarly to those on Berko's morphology test (1958) and the Grammatic Closure subtest of the ITPA (1968). This test takes approximately ten minutes to administer to individual children. Most items consist of two picures on a page. The examiner

TABLE 1
Sub-tests of Oral Production Test

1 Affirmative-Declarative
2 Articles
3 Present Participle
4 Possessive
5 Present Tense-3rd Reg.
6 Comparative
7 Superlative
8 Present Tense-3rd Irreg.
9 Preposition
10 Past Participle-Reg.
11 Negative
12 Past Participle-Irreg.
13 Subject Pronouns
14 Object Pronouns
15 Possessive Pronouns
16 Plural-Irreg.
17 Imperative
18 Yes/No Question
19 Wh-Question
20 Plural-Reg.

points at the first picture and describes it. He then points at the second picture on the page and has the child complete the description of this picture by supplying the omitted words or phrases. For example, to elicit the plural, a picture of one man and a picture of two men are shown. Pointing at the first picture the examiner says, 'Here is one man.' and pointing at the second picture the examiner says, 'Here are two ______' (requiring the child to complete the description with 'men').

Each item is scored as correct (1 point) or incorrect (0 points). Thus, the total possible for the entire test is sixty points. The items have been designed in such a way as to elicit the specific forms being tested; however, if variant responses are given, they are noted and rated individually.

A reliability study found that the proportional variance contributed by examiner and occasion, as sources of errors of measurement, was negligible. The reliability coefficient was .95, indicating that this test is a reliable means for testing this population of non-native English speakers.

Each of the 120 subjects included in this study was administered this test and given a score on each subtest (0–3 points) and a score on the total test (0–60 points). The mean scores on the subtests were used as a means of establishing an order of acquisition for the structures tested.

RESULTS

The mean scores on each subtest for the total population (N = 120) are given in Table 2. The subtests have been ranked according

TABLE 2

Sub-Tests of the Slope Test Ranked by Mean Scores for the Total Population (N = 120)

Sub-Test	Mean Score
Imperative (17)	2.97
Affirmative-Declarative (1)	2.43
Subject Pronoun (13)	2.11
Plural-Regular (20)	2.03
Present Participle (3)	2.02
Negative (11)	1.97
Preposition (9)	1.92
Article (2)	1.88
Wh-Question (19)	1.55
Present Tense-3rd Irregular (8)	1.38
Yes/No Question (18)	1.34
Possessive (4)	1.03
Possessive Pronoun (15)	1.02
Object Pronoun (14)	0.93
Plural-Irregular (16)	0.72
Comparative (6)	0.69
Superlative (7)	0.63
Past Participle-Regular (10)	0.62
Present Tense-3rd Regular (5)	0.23
Past Participle-Irregular (12)	0.20

to mean score, thereby giving an indication of the general sequence that the structures tested appeared to be learned by this population.

The correlation between each of the subtests was examined to determine if groupings of related subtests could be identified. A 20 × 20 correlation matrix revealed that the only correlation coefficients with values above .5 were between: the Comparative and Superlative subtests ($r = .7535$), the Object Pronoun and Yes/No Question subtests ($r = .5447$), the Possessive Pronoun and Yes/No subtests ($r = .5074$). Thus, almost all of the structures tested seemed to be acquired quite independently of the others.

The order in which the three forms within certain subtests were acquired was also examined by item analysis. Some of the general observations made from these tabulations are reported in Table 3.

To examine the effect that language background and age have upon the order, the subtest scores were analyzed for the two language backgrounds: Korean ($n = 60$), Spanish ($n = 60$) and for three age groups: 6–8 years ($n = 40$), 9–11 years ($n = 40$) and 12–14 years ($n = 40$).

The mean subtest scores for the Korean and Spanish groups are shown in Figure 1.

A comparison of the scores indicated that the order of acquisition, based upon these subtest scores, was very similar for the Korean and Spanish groups. The Spearman rank correlation coefficient was .84 ($p \leqslant .005$).

The only subtest where there was a significant difference in mean scores between groups was the Article subtest ($t = 27$, $p \leqslant .01$). A slight but statistically insignificant difference appeared between the Possessive, Comparative, Superlative and Plural-irreg. subtest scores for the two language groups. Thus it appeared that the sequence of learning of these structures was constant despite the fact that the individuals tested spoke native languages which were quite dissimilar.

The mean subtest scores for the children of the three different age groups (6–8 years, 9–11 years, 12–14 years) are shown in Figure 2. The sequence of learning was similar for these three age groups. Spearman rank correlations demonstrated that the sequencing was significantly correlated between all age groups. The correlation co-

TABLE 3

Sequence of Learning for Items within Selected Sub-Tests

Sub-Test	Order of Acquisition		
Affirmative-Declarative	S+V	before	S+V+O
Possessive, Plural, Present	/s/ /z/	before	/əz/
Preposition	'on'	before	'under'
Subject Pronoun	'he'	before	'they'
Past-Regular	/d/ /t/	before	/əd/
Wh-Question	'where'	before	'why'

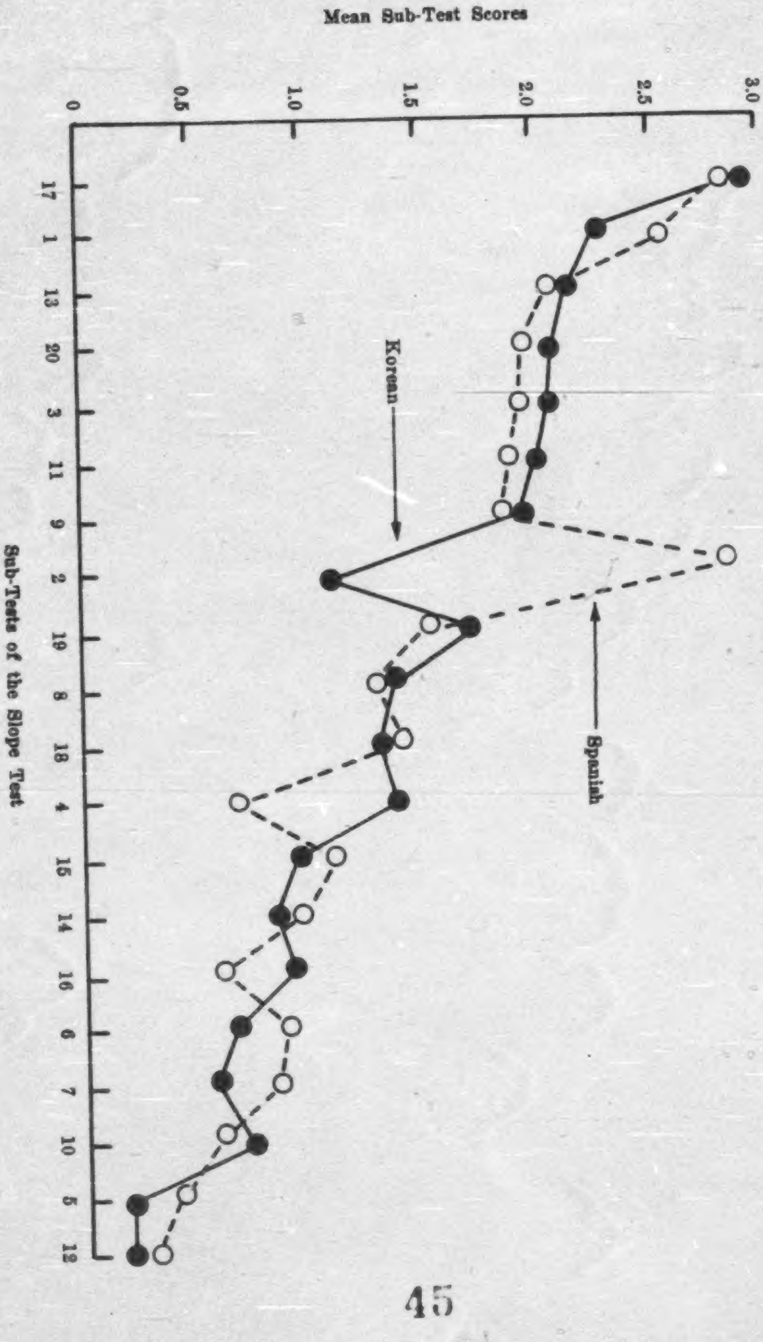


Figure 1. Comparison of mean sub-test scores for Korean and Spanish children.

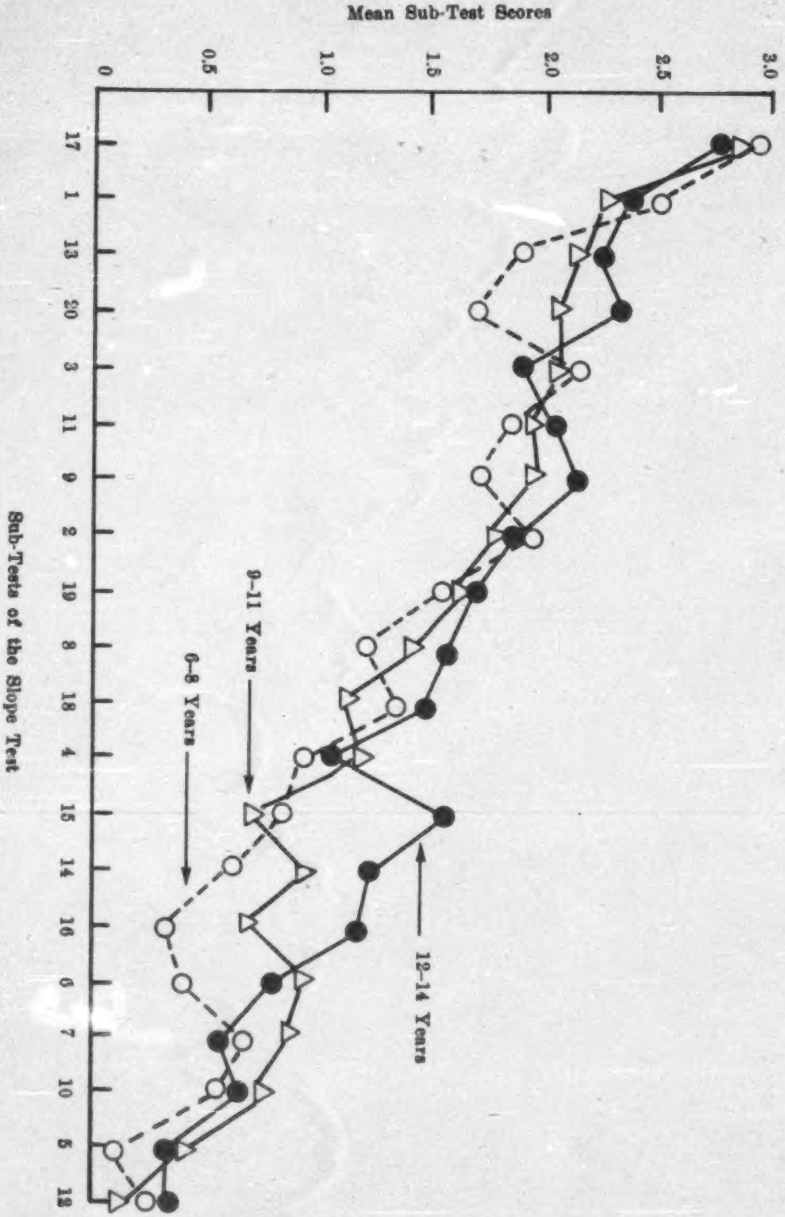


Figure 2. Comparison of mean sub-test scores for children 6–8 years, 9–11 years, 12–14 years.

efficients were: .94 ($p \leqslant .005$) for the 6–8 and 9–11 year old sequences; .93 ($p \leqslant .005$) for the 9–11 and 12–14 year old sequences and .89 ($p \leqslant .005$) for the 6–8 and 12–14 year old sequences. These high levels of significance suggested that the ordering was similar for all the children studied, despite the age of the child.

The only subtests for which there were detectable differences in mean scores between the difference age groups were the Object Pronoun, the Possessive Pronoun and the Plural-irreg. subtests. The group of older children performed slightly better on these subtests than did the younger; however, none of the differences were found to be significant at the 95% level.

The possibility that differences in the language learning environments might effect the order in which structures were learned was also analyzed. A comparison of the sequence of learning of the children from two different types of school programs in four schools was examined.

Two of the schools had a program where the children had many teachers during the day, including one teacher who provided some special English instruction (School Program 1). The other two schools had self-contained classrooms where the students were taught by one teacher for the entire day and received no special English instruction (School Program 2). The mean scores from the children in Program 1 ($n = 26$) and Program 2 ($n = 18$) are shown in Figure 3.

The sequence of learning was found to be very similar for the children from the different learning environments. The rank order correlated for the two groups was .94 ($p \leqslant .005$).

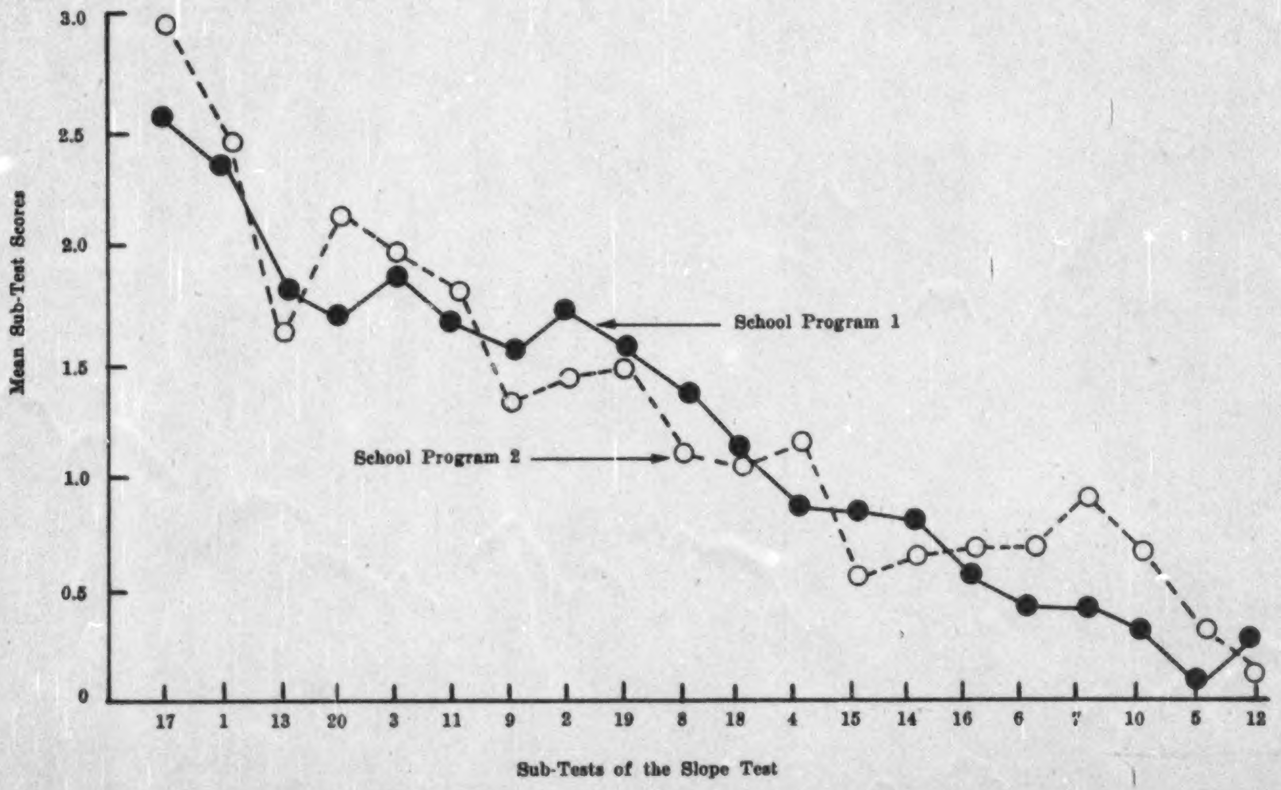
The subtests with the greatest differences in mean scores between the two groups were: the Superlative, Past-reg., Imperative and Plural-reg. subtests. None of these differences, however, were found to be statistically significant.

Thus, this analysis suggested that the order of acquisition of the structures tested, based upon the mean subtest scores for each group, did not change significantly with the age, the language background or the learning environment of the children in this study.

DISCUSSION

The general sequencing of structures found in this study was similar in many respects to that reported in other second language studies, although the scoring technique and the testing situation were appreciably different. The work done by Dulay and Burt with children (1974) and by Bailey, Madden, and Krashen with adults (1974) have also described the Progressive and Plural-reg. as some of the first forms mastered, whereas the Past-irreg. and Present-3rd reg. were some of the last structures mastered. Since many of the structures

Figure 3. Comparison of mean sub-test scores for children in different school programs.



analyzed in the study reported in this paper were different, comparisons between this and previous studies were impossible in many cases. Before more specific statements can be made about the acquisition of certain structures, other analyses must be done. These should include the study of the acquisition of groups of structures, as suggested by Dulay and Burt (1974d) and the analysis of relationship between the structures that are being learned and the kinds of errors that are being made. In this study, the correlation between the subtest scores for the entire sample suggested that acquisition of forms within one subtest was, in most cases, quite independent of the acquisition of the forms included in another subtest.

The results of this study also suggested that age (six years or older), language background and learning environment did not seem to change the order in which the structures were learned. Changes in order might be expected with age since the older child is cognitively more mature and has a longer attention span and a longer short-term memory span. In addition, most older language learners have already developed reading and writing skills in their native language which might be expected to affect their approach to new learning situations, thus possibly affecting the kinds of structures they would learn first in a new language. These age-related differences did not, however, seem to affect the order in which the structures tested were learned. The language processing device may change with age in some respects, but does not seem to change significantly with age in terms of the time at which certain structures are learned relative to others. This finding is in agreement with results reported by Bailey, Madden, and Krashen (1974 and this volume) and Fathman (1974) for other populations.

Language background was another variable which did not seem to significantly affect the order in which the structures tested were learned. The subjects included in this study spoke two structurally different native languages, Korean and Spanish. If native language does have a strong influence on the learning of a second language, then we might expect to find significant differences in the order of acquisition of structures for individuals from different language backgrounds. For example, by contrasting structures in Spanish and English, it might be expected that the Spanish speaker would have difficulty with the prepositions 'in' and 'on', with the possessive and with the pronoun distinction 'his' and 'her'. Whereas, the Korean speaker might be expected to have special problems with word order, articles, plurals, verb person and number inflections.

There was only one structure on the SLOPE Test that seemed to cause more difficulty for the speakers of one language background than another, the Article subtest. The mean scores on almost all other subtests were very similar for the two groups, indicating that the majority of the errors made on these structures was not the result of transfers from another language. This finding is in agreement with observations made in error analysis studies by Richards (1971a), Burt and Kiparsky 1972) and Dulay and Burt (1974a,b). Further analysis of the kinds of errors that were made by the Korean and Spanish speakers on this test is necessary because the differences might exist in the kind of error that was made, rather than in the item that was missed.

The order in which the structures were learned also remained quite constant for children who were exposed to different types of school programs. All children in the sample were learning English in the 'natural' context of the school where all communication was in English. However, the fact that some of the children had special help in English and were exposed to input from different teachers during the day did not seem to affect the order in which structures were learned. A further analysis of specific differences in the learning environments of different schools and their effect on language processing is necessary, but from this limited sample it appeared that the sequence of learning remained constant despite changes in the learning environment. As long as the second language is being learned in a 'natural' environment where communication in English is meaningful and necessary, changes in the learning situation might not significantly affect how the second language is learned.

Differences in age, language background and learning environment did not seem to significantly change the order of learning in this study. The constancy in this order might be explained by the fact that similar strategies are being used by all subjects in processing language input, despite individual or environmental differences.

The order in which the structures were learned might be explained by the nature of the structures tested. The complexity of the structures may be one factor determining the order. Brown (1973) has suggested that grammatical complexity (the number of transformations in a derivation) and semantic complexity (the number of semantic features) were two of the major determinants in the order of acquisition of the functors in his first language acquisition study. In the present study, the order reflected the grammatical complexity of the structures in some cases, but certainly not in all cases. Similar findings have been reported by Dulay and Burt (1974d). In this study, the acquisition of the Present Progressive before the Past-reg. before the Present-3rd reg. might be predicted by the linguistic complexity of the structures. However, the Past-irreg. and Article do not follow the predicted pattern.

Semantic complexity may also be a determinant in the order of acquisition of the structures tested. In this study, the Plural was learned before the Past-reg. before the Present-3rd reg. as might be predicted from Brown's semantic complexity ordering, but other structures such as the Past-irreg. and Present Progressive did not follow the predicted pattern.

Other factors suggested by Brown such as frequency, redundancy and perceptibility may also offer plausible explanations for the order of acquisition. The Imperative might well be the structure most frequently heard by the beginning second language learner, and this may explain the fact that it was learned first in this study. The late acquisition of the Present-3rd reg. might be explained by the fact that this morpheme is a redundant feature in English because the subject already indicates the person and number of the verb. Difficulty in perceptibility might explain the late acquisition of the Past-reg. Not only is it difficult for the language learner to hear these forms in the normal flow of speech, but it was also difficult for the examiner to determine if the past allomorphs were being added during testing.

Thus in this study no one factor can be given as the major determinant of the order of acquisition in second language learning. Most likely a combination of factors contribute to the overall ordering, but further study of the second language acquisition process is necessary before these factors and their effect on language processing can be positively identified.

IMPLICATIONS

The results of this study imply that the language processing mechanism for all the subjects studied was similar in certain respects because the order of learning was found to be quite constant. Since the process may be a creative one following predictable patterns, despite individual and environmental differences, perhaps language programs should concentrate less on the presentation of grammatical rules, immediate correction, and contrastive analysis. The teacher should be aware of the order of learning reported in second language studies and provide situations which would most fully allow for the use of the structures in communication, according to this order. Meaningful situations might be provided in the classroom where the learner can hypothesize, experiment and discover. Perhaps what is taught to different individuals of different ages or from different language backgrounds is not as important as how it is taught. If we provide total, meaningful environments where language use is stressed, we may well achieve greater success in our second language programs.

Theoretical Aspects of Grammatical Sequencing

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INTRODUCTION

The question of the optimal sequence of presentation of grammatical items is an interesting and important one for our field for two reasons. First, of course, we desire the most efficient syllabus, the one our students will find easiest and learn fastest. The diversity of syllabi found in ESL texts attests to the fact that there is considerable disagreement on what order items should be presented in, and there has been, to our knowledge, no research directly comparing one sequence with another. The sequence adopted also influences error correction behavior on the part of teachers, as there is probably a tendency to concentrate on those errors that are made on constructions covered in class.

Second, if one best sequence of presentation of grammatical structures for adult second language learners exists, and is discovered, it should tell us a great deal about the process of adult second language learning. The search for the optimal sequence is thus part of a growing research effort in language acquisition and language learning studies that attempts to specify learning strategies.

There are at least two ways of discovering if a best sequence of presentation exists. A logically simple procedure is to compare students' performance on different sequences: given two matched groups of learners receiving equal quality instruction, try sequence A on one group and sequence B on another. As mentioned above, no one has done such an experiment to our knowledge, and, we think, for good reason. The main problem is that every possible permutation of anyone's sequence is a hypothesis that could be tested. There are literally hundreds of possibilities.

To be sure, certain sequences are more likely candidates than others. It has been suggested, for example, that the optimal sequence should be based on grammatical complexity, or utility, or frequency, or on target language/native language differences. But even within these domains there is tremendous possible variation—your theory's definition of complexity will most likely predict a different sequence from our theory, etc.

An alternative approach is the cross-sectional study of relative difficulty order, the discovery of which structures learners find most difficult, and which they find easiest. While results of such an investigation may, of course, be related to the sequence the learner was actually taught, if consistent results are obtained from large groups of students who have studied under different sequences, one can be confident that the results are independent of the actual order presented. Given a common difficulty ordering for adult second language learners, one then has at least one excellent hypothesis to test in the classroom, namely that this common difficulty order is the best sequence of presentation.

In a previous paper (Bailey, Madden, and Krashen 1974), we reported some success in finding such a common order of difficulty for a small set of English grammatical morphemes for 73 adults learning English as a second language. As we intended to compare our results to data collected by Dulay and Burt in their study of children learning English as a second language (Dulay and Burt 1973), we attempted to match Dulay and Burt's methodology as closely as possible. Data was elicited with the Bilingual Syntax Measure (Burt, Dulay, and Hernandez (1973), and, as in previous studies, accuracy of usage was determined by the ratio of the correctly formed and used morphemes to the obligatory occasions for them. Following Dulay and Burt (1973), a correctly used morpheme was scored as one point, a misformed morpheme as .5, and a missing grammatical morpheme as zero.[1] The actual morphemes investigated were progressive (*-ing*), plural, contractible copula, contractible (progressive) auxiliary, articles, past irregular, third person singular (*-s*), and possessive (*-s*).[2]

Our evidence for a common order was as follows: we found a high degree of agreement among the eight different classrooms tested (from two different adult ESL programs (different teachers, different texts, different levels, and thus, we assume, different syllabi). Also, there was a very significant correlation between the relative difficulty order for the Spanish speakers (n = 33) and the non-Spanish speakers (n = 40). These latter results are consistent with results of recent error analysis research (see, e.g., Richards 1971) that indicate that not all errors in adult second language learning are the result of first language interference.

The difficulty order we found is thus a candidate for the optimal sequence. Further research should test other grammatical structures for adult learners to determine first whether a common order exists for other structures and to also specify what that order is. If all teaching syllabi yield a common difficulty order, perhaps that order should be the sequence taught. Our results do suggest that the typical learner will have a certain difficulty order regardless of what syllabus is used, and it is plausible that using a sequence identical to that difficulty order will be more comfortable and efficient, that is, learning might proceed more rapidly and with less frustration on the part of the student and teacher.

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[1] While Dulay and Burt used a similar partial scoring system (2,1,0) in their subsequent study (Dulay and Burt 1974c), studies done by Brown and de Villiers and de Villiers in first language acquisition, and by J. de Villiers in adult Broca aphasics tallied only presence and absence of function words, not giving partial credit for errors of commission. De Villiers (1974), in the aphasic study, notes, however, that such errors were rare for her subjects

[2] Dulay and Burt (1973) did not give detailed descriptions of the criteria used for identifying the eight function words. We therefore used the criteria given in Brown (1973). The criteria used in Dulay and Burt (1974c) were slightly different, however.

It is, of course, not obvious that adult learners will agree on relative difficulty for the rest of the grammar.

LEARNING STRATEGIES IN ADULTS

We would now like to turn to the question of what our results might tell us about learning strategies in adults. Our thinking in this area has been in two directions. First, we have attempted to compare our sequence to orderings found by other researchers using similar investigative techniques with younger subjects. The similarities and differences should give us some indication of if and how learning strategies change with age. This information, in turn, might help in revealing more of the nature of such strategies.

We are pleased to report that this approach has been quite fruitful. In our 1974 paper, we reported that the adult order we found was not significantly different from the difficulty orders reported by Dulay and Burt (1973) in their pilot study of five to eight years old ESL learners and from de Villiers (1974) study of adult non-fluent (Broca) aphasics. Our adult order, as well as that of the children and non-fluent aphasics, did not, however, correlate significantly with either the cross-sectional difficulty order or longitudinal order of acquisition of grammatical morphemes found for first language learners by de Villiers and de Villiers (1973) and R. Brown (1973). We concluded at that time that there were two "universal" orders, one for second language learners and adult aphasics, and another one for children learning a first language. Following Dulay and Burt (1973), we supposed that the differences might be related to the fact that children learning their first language are engaged in cognitive development, and this influences the order in which items are acquired and their relative difficulty.

Further comparisons with similar studies re-inforce this view. The adult order, we have discovered, is also not significantly different from the order found in Dulay and Burt's (1974c) study comparing Chinese and Spanish speaking children, or from the order found in Fathman's (1974) results for children learning ESL, for those items common to both studies. Just one second language project shows a different order, and that is Hakuta's report (1974) (actually a combination of order of acquisition and difficulty order) of a Japanese speaking child learning English.

A suggestion by Eileen Nam that we examine NP related and V related grammatical morphemes separately, provided a breakthrough that helped us relate what we thought were two separate orders, one for first and one for second language learning. It has also stimulated our thinking about just what learning strategies may be employed by all learners. Such an analysis (Table 1) shows that there is complete agreement for NP related function words among the adult ESL, adult aphasic, first Dulay and Burt, and de Villiers and de Villiers cross-sectional first language studies. Although we will argue below that VP is not a unit of perception, it is interesting that for V related morphemes, all second language studies, including Hakuta's, and the adult aphasic study agree. First language learners, it seems, differ mainly in that contractible copula and contractible auxiliary come later. One can conclude from these similarities that the principles which predict the child's order will probably go a long way in predicting the second language learner's and adult aphasic's order of difficulty.

Just what underlies the difficulty order we get? The literature is replete with long discussions and testing of various possibilities, such as grammatical complexity, semantic complexity, frequency in native adult speech, etc. Dulay and Burt (1974d) and de Villiers (1974) have shown that these principles, at least taken one at a time, do not account for the second language/aphasic order, and Brown (1973) and de Villiers and de Villiers (1973) have discussed their shortcomings in accounting for the first language order.

Slobin (1971) and Ervin-Tripp (1973) have also proposed "operating principles" to account for the order of acquisition of child language. Examples, which will be relevant to us below, include the following, taken from Ervin-Tripp (1973):

1. . . . items which are sentence final should be acquired early.
2. S initial fixed position forms should be learned more easily than material in the middle of utterances.

Dulay and Burt (1974d) have commented on certain problems that exist in applying principles such as these to language acquisition data. One is that such principles are presented as a list, "in which the relation of the principles to each other . . . is left unspecified." Applied in order, however, to the NP related grammatical morphemes, and

Figure 1. NP Order of Grammatical Morphemes (all learners?)

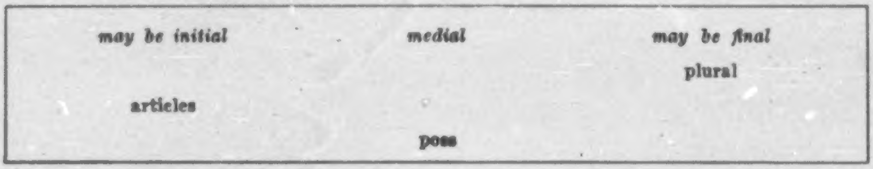

TABLE 1
Difficulty Order for Grammatical Morphemes

Adults (ESL)[1]	Children (ESL)[2]	Children (ESL)[3]	Uguisu[4]	Adults (aphasics)[5]	Children (L1)[6]	Genie[7]
ing con cop plural	plural ing con cop	ing	ing cop aux	ing plural con cop	plural ing past irreg	ing plural past irreg poss articles
articles con aux past irreg third per s poss	con aux articles past irreg third per s poss	articles poss third per s	poss past irreg plural articles third per s	articles past irreg third per	articles con cop poss third per s con aux	con cop con aux
NP: pl art poss	NP: pl ± art poss	NP: art poss	NP: poss pl art	NP: pl art	NP: pl art poss	
V: ing con cop con aux past irreg third per s	V: ing con cop con aux past irreg third per s	V: ing third per s	V: ing cop aux past irreg third per s	V: ing con cop ø past irreg third per s	V: ing past irreg con cop third per s con aux	

1 = Bailey, Madden, and Krashen (1974)
2 = Dulay and Burt (1973)
3 = Fathman (1974)
4 = Hakuta (1974)
5 = De Villiers (1974)
6 = De Villiers and De Villiers (1973)
7 = Curtiss, Fromkin, Krashen, Rigler, and Rigler (1974)

Rank order correlations with adult ESL:
child ESL[3] = .90 ($p < .01$) (for Dulay and Burt 1974, rho = .80, $p < .01$)
child L1[6] = .57 (ns)
aphasics[5] = .90 ($p < .05$)

Figure 2

Order of grammatical morphemes (L1):

may be S initial	*medial*	*may be S final*
		plural
		ing
		past irreg
articles		
	con cop	
	poss	
		third per s
	con aux	

Order of grammatical morphemes (L2):

may be S initial	*medial*	*may be S final*
		ing
	con cop	
		plural
articles		
	con aux	
		past irreg third per s
	poss	

modifying #1 to read "items which are (simple) NP final" and changing "utterance" to NP in #2, principles #1 and #2 predict the most commonly observed difficulty order.

Similarly, for the S as a whole, these principles, with #1 modified to read "items which may be sentence final," predict the child's first language order rather closely. (See Figure 2.)

A few points should be noted before we go on to the second language and aphasic S order. One is that we consider it quite unlikely that these two principles are completely responsible for the observed difficulty orders. It is, rather, probable that the interaction of several factors will be responsible for the difficulty orders we find (this could explain why the third person morpheme comes relatively late despite its ability to appear in S final position). Second, note that the modifications we propose in #1 and #2 imply that the relevant units in preception (or ''perception for acquisition'') are the surface NP and surface S as a whole. Finally, the joint operation of principles #1 and #2 may be the linguistic analog of the more general serial order learning curve. Given a series of ten digits to repeat back, normal subjects will typically be able to recall the first few and the last few, forgetting those in the middle. The fact that second language learners and aphasics find contractible copula and contractable auxiliary easier may have something to do with this last point: superior short term memory on the part of the older learner could result in a flattening of the middle part of the learning curve, especially for longer (e.g. sentence length) strings. Thus, just as the older person can recall more middle digits, so might the older learner be more aware of medially occurring items.

Another explanation for the older learners' relatively better performance with the copula and auxiliary is that they have had some experience with another language and may thus be more conscious of the "integrity" of the sentence; this could be manifested in a greater need to have the middle surface slot filled.[3]

GRAMMATICAL MORPHEMES IN ADULT FIRST LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

We are, of course, anxious for more data, from English as well as from other languages. We are eager also to observe the order of acquisition or difficulty order in cases of first language acquisition in adults to see what such cases will tell us as to learning strategies. Three such cases of language learning after the "critical period" have been observed so far.

One of them, "Joe," was fitted with a hearing aid at the age of 39, ending a lifetime of deafness. While we are as yet uncertain to what extent Joe had mastered a non-conventional signing system, Joe is presently making some progress with English. Reports on Joe's language (Bouma 1974, Young 1974) indicate, however, that Joe may still be in what Brown (1973) refers to as "Stage I," the use of what appears to be "telegraphic speech" to encode a limited set of semantic relations.

A second case, "Carl," was impaired in both speech and hearing; he was deaf and had only partial vision in one eye. It is reported that Carl "had no established language system" but communicated with his mother using simple gestures (Rees, Krueger, Bernstein, Kramer, and Bezas, forthcoming). At 19, Carl was admitted to the National Center for Deaf-Blind Youths and Adults in Garden City, New York. He had ear surgery and, like Joe, received a hearing aid. Unlike Joe, however, his responses to sound remained "inconsistent and nonfunctional." Rees *et al.* report that using sign, Carl eventually learned to use two and three word strings appropriately. While we have very little data to compare, his language production looks very similar to Joe's. Both lack grammatical morphemes and appear to be in Brown's Stage I.

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[3] In a paper presented at this conference, Larsen Freeman reported a somewhat different difficulty order for adults learning English as a second language in different tasks (reading, writing, and listening), when other tests of English proficiency are used. This raises the possibility that the pattern of errors reported here and in Bailey *et al.* (1974) is specific to tests of oral production. One hypothesis we are considering is that oral production tests tap deeper and more "natural" levels of language use. Tasks that allow monitoring time will show a different pattern of errors as they allow the learner to bring a more conscious knowledge of grammar to bear on his output. See Krashen (forthcoming) for further argumentation and explication.

Perhaps the best documented case of adult first language acquisition is "Genie," a girl, now 17, who endured at least ten years of enforced social and environmental deprivation. Genie was discovered and admitted to Children's Hospital in Los Angeles when she was about 13, and eventually was placed in a home with a family. Her linguistic competence, if it existed at all at the time of her discovery, was very low. Since then she has shown modest but steady progress in first language acquisition. Susan Curtiss has documented this progress, and her report of Genie's speech as of Fall, 1973 does include information on grammatical morphemes (Curtiss, Fromkin, Krashen, Rigler and Rigler 1974; see especially pp. 537–539). Curtiss notes that *-ing* was used appropriately, and that Genie was in the process of acquiring noun plurals, the irregular past, possessives, and articles. There was no evidence at that time that Genie had begun to acquire the contractible copula or auxiliary. We may thus infer the order given for Genie in Table 1, without making any claim about acquisition or difficulty orderings within the blocks. Even with this meagre evidence, it seems clear that Genie looks more like a first language learner than a second language learner. We can also conclude from the similarity of her order to all the other orderings found in the literature, first and second, that Genie is in some sense learning language "naturally," despite claims (Fromkin, Krashen, Curtiss, Rigler and Rigler 1974) that Genie may be using somewhat different neurological mechanisms in her language acquisition.[4]

CHILD-ADULT DIFFERENCES

Our findings in investigating the question of the optimal sequence forces us to at least mention another question that has interested those involved with language teaching and learning for many years: the difference between children and adults. Our results, limited though they are, seem to suggest that the important distinction, if any is to be made at all, is first language-second language (copula and auxiliary late versus early), and not child-adult. There is, however, evidence that some kind of "critical period" does exist, and that puberty is an important turning point in language acquisition. Children and adults differ with respect to ultimate attainment in general (Seliger, Krashen and Ladefoged, in press; Oyama 1973), and also with respect to

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[4] Kessler, in a paper presented at the Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics, March 14, 1975, reported the following difficulty order for language-delayed children.

plural
ing
art
third per
cop
aux

optimal learning environment (Krashen, Jones, Zelinski and Usprich, in press; Fathman 1974). Various proposals have been made to account for these differences, e.g. neurological (Lenneberg 1967; but see Krashen 1973, Krashen and Harshman 1975), cognitive (Krashen 1975, Rosansky 1975), and affective-psychological (Stevick 1974, B. Taylor 1974).

Future research might help clarify this issue by determining more precisely which strategies or aspects of language acquisition are shared by children and adults. Research in the area of perceptual strategies, for example, already suggests that children and adults may differ. Nam (1975) reports that for the first language learners and children learning English as a second language, the stage at which the first NP is considered the actor occurs at "intermediate" levels (Bever 1970), indicating overuse of an NVN = actor-action-object perceptual strategy. For adults, it appears to be the case that this stage comes at the beginning, such errors getting rarer as proficiency develops. Thus, recognizing documented differences in child-adult attainment and in learning environments, we are not even ready to posit an identity in learning strategies. Our data does indicate that some real similarities do exist, however, and work in first and second language learning will hopefully give us a clearer picture of what those similarities are and how far they go. The same research should help the classroom teacher be more effective in error correction, plan the syllabus, and have, in general, a better idea of how adults learn language.

SUMMARY

Research in determining difficulty ordering of grammatical morphemes in adult ESL learners extends and confirms Dulay and Burt's (1973, 74c) findings for children learning ESL: adults seem to share a common difficulty order for the eight morphemes studied. The order found, moreover, appears to be independent of the learner's first language and is not significantly different from that seen in pre-puberty learners. These findings have both pedagogical and theoretical implications. First, the order found is a candidate for the optimal teaching sequence. Also, an examination of the similarities and differences seen between first and second language learners provides clues as to what learning strategies are employed in language acquisition and how these strategies may change over time. Finally, the similarity seen between children and adults forces a reinterpretation of the critical period hypothesis: this research shows that adults have at least some access to learning strategies employed by younger learners.

APPENDIX: APPLICATION OF THE ORDERING THEORETIC METHOD TO ADULT GRAMMATICAL MORPHEME DATA

In their 1974d article, Dulay and Burt apply a different statistical technique to their 1974c data on grammatical morpheme difficulty in children learning English as a second language, the ordering-theoretic method, developed by Bart and Krus (1973). Such a method of analysis allows the researcher to determine tree-type relationships among items, rather than just a linear ordering. We applied this technique to our adult data (from Bailey, Madden and Krashen 1974) just as Dulay and Burt applied it to their child data: if a subject had "acquired" a grammatical morpheme (90% correct for at least three obligatory occasions), the subject was given a "1" score for that item. If he or she had not, he or she received zero. We then counted, for each pair of items, the number of subjects who had received scores of either zero or one (i.e. had three obligatory occasions for both members of the pair) and the number whose responses disconfirmed a relationship. For example, 42 of our subjects had at least three obligatory occasions for both *ing* and *poss*. In only one case (2%) did a subject have a score of "1" for *poss* and zero for *ing*. On the other hand 21 (50%) had "1" for *ing* and zero for *poss*. This clearly indicates that *ing* precedes *poss*.

Again following Dulay and Burt, we assumed that if the percent of disconfirming responses is 5% or less, a relationship holds.

Our results, in Table 2, are quite similar to that found by Dulay and Burt for the seven function words covered in both studies. They found eleven pairs that were related and we found six. Four of our six were also found to be related in Dulay and Burt. Of the seven pairs they found that we did not, in two cases we found less than 10% discon-

TABLE 2

Ordering-Theoretic Method Applied to Adult Grammatical Morphemes

	ing		cop		art		plur		aux		past irreg		poss		third per s	
	N	%D	N	%D	N	%D	N	%D	N	%D	N	%D	N	%D	N	%D
ing			49	10	54	22	52	10	47	21	30	13	42	2	37	5
cop	49	26			63	29	65	26	48	19	35	23	54	7	45	4
art	54	25	63	16			69	23	48	17	38	19	57	11	53	9
plur	52	25	65	24	69	25			48	23	39	33	55	7	51	6
aux	47	40	48	27	48	27	48	29			25	16	40	5	34	6
past irr	30	37	35	29	38	29	39	18	25	28			30	3	29	14
poss	42	50	54	41	57	44	55	24	40	28	30	27			43	7
third per	37	46	45	31	53	45	51	29	34	29	29	24	43	2		

N = number of responses.
%D = percent of disconfirming responses.

TABLE 3

Tree Analysis Method: Comparison of Child ESL and Adult ESL Data

1. Where the studies agree (Dulay and Burt 1974b; Bailey, Madden and Krashen 1974):

ing→ third per s
ing→ poss
cop→ third per s
aux→ poss

2. Where a relation holds for child ESL only:

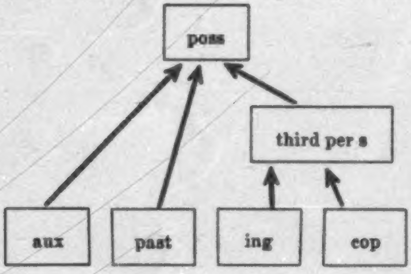
	Per cent disconfirming responses in adult data	Per cent for opposite relation
ing→ past	13	37
cop→ aux	19	27
cop→ past	23	29
cop→ poss	7	41
art→ past	19	29
art→ third per s	9	45
aux→ past	16	28

3. Relation for adult ESL only:

	Per cent disconfirming responses in child data	Per cent for opposite relation
past→ poss	16	no data
third per s→ poss	9	6

firming responses, and in all seven the evidence was clearly against an opposite relationship. As for the two cases they found that we did not, in one case *(past→poss)* they had 16% disconfirming responses, and in the other only 9% (but only 6% disconfirming in the opposite direction). Our hierarchy is given in Figure 3 and should be compared with that of Dulay and Burt (1974d: 273).

Figure 3. Tree Analysis for Grammatical Morphemes in Adult ESL Learners



The relatively late occurrence of *cop* and *aux* makes this order, like Genie's, much more similar to first language acquisition (rho = .90 with de Villiers order, for the items common to both studies). The overall similarity to all the other orders given in Table 1, however, is, like Genie's order, quite striking.

The Use of Overgeneralization and Transfer Learning Strategies by Elementary and Intermediate University Students of ESL

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The possibility that the strategies of syntactic overgeneralization (with resultant grammatical simplification) and redundancy reduction can account for many of the kinds of errors made by both first and second language learners, has been suggested recently (see, e.g., B. Taylor 1974b). It was also suggested that a strategy involving a partial reliance on native language structure might be able to account for second language learners, has been suggested recently (see, e.g., B. Taylor 1974b). It was also suggested that a strategy involving a partial revestigate the relationship between the strategies of overgeneralization and transfer and the degree to which elementary and intermediate students of ESL rely on those strategies while learning English.

The strategy of syntactic overgeneralization can be defined as a process in which language learner's use a syntactic rule of the target language inappropriately when they attempt to generate a novel target language utterance. Errors which seem to reflect an overgeneralization strategy suggest three important facts about a learner's knowledge of the syntax of the target language:

1. The learner has mastered the mechanics of a particular syntactic rule of the target language.
2. The learner does not know how to use the rule appropriately; i.e., he or she has not learned the distribution of the rule or the exceptional cases where the rule does not apply.
3. The learner is an active participant in the language acquisition process and is exercising his or her already acquired knowledge of the target language in a creative way; the learner is neither operating under a repetition or imitation strategy, nor transferring native language structures in his or her target language attempts.

This research was designed to investigate how adult native speakers of Spanish use syntactic overgeneralization and native language transfer in the acquisition of English as a second language, and how errors attributable to those learning strategies are related. Specifically, this study was conducted to provide evidence to support the following claims:

1. Second language learners of English make errors which are not attributable to the structure of their native language and which, therefore, cannot be predicted by the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis.

2. Many errors which second language learners make can be attributed to inherent difficulties and/or irregularities in English itself and can be explained by a strategy of target language syntactic overgeneralization.

3. Overgeneralization errors are neither random nor idiosyncratic, and they can be enumerated within a limited taxonomy of error types.

4. Errors which appear to indicate a reliance on native language structures (native language transfer) are more common among elementary adult speakers of English than they are among intermediate speakers. Errors which appear to be attributable to overgeneralization are more common among intermediate speakers than they are among elementary speakers.

There are several fundamental assumptions behind these claims. First, if language acquisition is a creative process which involves the learner as an active participant, then the learners will make errors which indicate that they are dealing with the target language directly and without an extensive reliance on the native language.

Second, if Ausubel (1967) is correct in assuming that a learner relies on what is already known when confronted with a new learning situation, because the elementary target language learner knows less of the target language than a more advanced learner, the elementary learner will need to rely more heavily on the native language. As the learner learns more about the target language, reliance on the native language will decrease, and errors attributable to target language syntactic overgeneralization will increase.

And third, if an interlanguage is a linguistic system which differs systematically from both the native and target languages, then the errors made by a second language learner will be systematic and will reflect the systematic grammar of his or her interlanguage. Students of a second language will frequently compensate for their lack of knowledge of a set of related target language rules (such as rules for question formation) by using a specific target language rule (such as inserting a *do* in all questions) more often than that rule is used by native speakers of the target language. This phenomenon can be viewed as a reduction of the complexities of the target language syntactic system and can be defined as "target language syntactic simplification."

EXPERIMENTAL METHODOLOGY

Error analysis is not a new way to investigate the process of language acquisition. Just as errors in child language acquisition have been used to explain how the child approaches the task of learning his or her native language, the recent concern of error analysis has been to try to infer, from second language errors, the processes and strategies under which the learner operates. In examining and analyzing errors, however, we are frequently unable to compare the proficiencies of various speakers when we have no control over those speakers' linguistic production. Because some speakers are more "reflective" (Brown 1973) and reserved, using only what they are sure that they know in their attempts at speaking the target language, while others are more "impulsive" (Brown 1973), we cannot easily compare the errors made by various speakers (also see Corder 1972). The fact that some speakers may make more errors than others may indicate only that they monitor their speech less; we cannot, therefore, concluded that their interlanguage is less like the target language grammar than that of speakers who cleverly avoid specific syntactic structures and, therefore, make fewer errors.

For this reason, controlling the elicitation of specific grammatical constructions from foreign speakers of English is extremely difficult. In order to remedy this methodological problem of experimentation, Corder (1972) has suggested an elicitation procedure which requires direct translation from the native language to the target language. This method has proved successful in studies conducted at Edinburgh and has the advantages of 1) forcing the experimental subject to attempt to form a desired target language structure, and 2) assuring that the subject understands the semantics of the structure which he is required to produce. Moreover, by forcing a subject to form a structure which has not been completely mastered, the experimenter can gain insights into how the subject understands the language to operate and how he/she organizes new syntactic constructions in his/her interlanguage. It follows that many imperfectly controlled structures are apt to yield examples of both overgeneralizations of target language rules which the subject has mastered, and negative transfer from the native language.

In accord with Corder's suggestions (1972), direct translation was used to elicit attempted productions of semantic information in English. It might be argued, however, that a translation test "loads" a study in favor of transfer and interference. Nevertheless, because the power of the overgeneralization strategy over the transfer strategy seemed to be so strong, a translation test was used in spite of its potential shortcomings. Furthermore, a translation test seems to be the most efficient way to elicit specific syntactic structures from subjects.

SUBJECTS

The subjects for this study were all students in the fifteen-week Intensive Course in English at the English Language Institute (ELI) at The University of Michigan during the fall of 1973. Twenty native speakers of Latin American Spanish were selected from elementary and intermediate English classes at the ELI. These students ranged in age from 17 to 42 years, with a mean age of 26.

The subjects fell into two convenient groups. ELI placement test scores and independent evaluations by each subject's four ELI instructors were used to divide the subjects into an "elementary proficiency group" and an "intermediate proficiency group," with ten subjects in each category. The elementary subjects had studied very little or no English prior to the ELI course; the intermediate subjects had all had prior instruction in English.

Although the distinction between "elementary" and "intermediate" proficiency is rather arbitrary because the terms are not quantifiable on an *absolute* scale, this distinction was important to this study because of its validity on a *relative* scale. Distinguishing between two discrete levels of proficiency in English made it possible to isolate two stages in the acquisition of English as a second language. Because this study is concerned not only with comparing the relationship between the strategies of overgeneralization and transfer, but also with investigating whether a reliance on those strategies is dependent upon a learner's degree of proficiency in English, this division of subjects was necessary.

MATERIALS AND TESTING PROCEDURE

The test which was designed to investigate syntactic overgeneralization and transfer phenomena in English consists of 80 Spanish sentences recorded by a native speaker of Mexican Spanish. The test was administered in two sittings, at least one day but no more than four days apart. At the first sitting the subjects heard 50 of the test sentences in Spanish, preceded by five pre-test sentences provided to offset any learning effect. At the second sitting the remaining 30 sentences were heard, again preceded by five pre-test sentences. Each sentence was heard twice, followed by a 30-second period of silence during which time the subjects were asked to write the translation of the sentence in correct English. The use of immediate translation limited the time that the subjects had to reflect on the problem and required an immediate, first-impression response. If the subjects had not mastered the syntax of the structure, it was assumed that their responses would reflect either native language syntax or an overgeneralization of an English structure which they *had* mastered.

The subjects were instructed to respond in writing rather than orally because a written response is easier to evaluate than an oral response which might be marked with numerous false starts, hesitations, "backtracking," and other performance variables. While it might be argued that writing is a different kind of activity from speaking, the test sentences were sufficiently straight forward to suggest that identical abilities would be tested regardless of the modality used. The stimulus sentences contained only common vocabulary which the subjects could be expected to know; therefore, the test emphasized syntactic rather than lexical translation. In addition, the subjects were told that both spelling and vocabulary were unimportant, and translations of vocabulary items which might prove difficult were provided on the answer sheet; main verbs were given in their infinitive forms in Spanish and English, and nouns were provided as they appeared in the sentences, with the accompanying English translation. Each response was scored and evaluated only on the basis of the one syntactic point being investigated, rather than on the complete acceptability of the response.

The 80 test sentences were written to test the subjects' mastery of the Auxiliary (Aux) and Verb Phrase (VP) in eight sentence types of English. Sentence types which might cause the subjects either to transfer Spanish syntax into their translations or to overgeneralize because of the essential arbitrariness and/or complexity of the distribution of the English structure were selected. The following are the eight sentence types of English which were tested:

1. Simple active declarative statements
2. *Yes-no* questions
3. Negative statements
4. Negative *yes-no* questions
5. Subject-focus *wh*-questions
6. Object-focus *wh*-questions
7. Negative subject-focus *wh*-questions
8. Negative object-focus *wh*-questions

The translations of the Spanish sentences of the above types required mastery of verbs (other than *be*) in the present and past tenses, and with the present tense modals *will* and *can*. Both singular and plural VP's were tested: the subjects were either common nouns (e.g., *the student, the boys*) or proper nouns (e.g., *John, Mr. and Mrs. Miller, Pablo and Elsa*); no subject pronouns were used. The *wh*-questions required mastery of the English *wh*-words *who* and *what* in both subject and object positions and were used with verbs other than *be* in the present and past tenses, and with the present tense modals *will* and *can*, all in both the singular and plural. The only deviation from this strict paradigm of structures, which was established to ensure that every stimulus sentence differed structurally from every other stimulus sentence by at least one feature, was the omission of subject *who* and *what* in the plural. Because subject *who* and *what* do not occur in the plural for most speakers of English (e.g., *Who studies here?, What has four legs?* vs. **Who study here?, *What have* *four legs?*), those structures had to be omitted from this paradigm.

Table 1 illustrates the structures which were tested. The full text of the test can be found in B. Taylor 1975. The test sentences are in a linguistic ordering that groups sentences together according to syntactic properties. The 80 test sentences and the 10 pre-test sentences were administered in random order using a standard table of random numbers. In addition, in order to offset the possibility of a "fatigue effect" altering the results, some of the subjects received the test in random order, and the other subjects, in reverse random order. In the table, the number preceding each structure represents the position of that sentence in the linguistic ordering.

The test was administered during the seventh week of the 15-week course, so all of the structures contained in the test had already been explained and drilled in the subjects' ELI classes. However, it was assumed that although a specific structure may have been presented and practiced, the subjects had not necessarily mastered it. As Corder (1967: 165) says,

> The simple fact of presenting a certain linguistic form to a learner in the classroom does not qualify it for the status of input, for the reason that input is "what goes in" not what is available for going in, and we may reasonably suppose that it is the learner who controls his input, or more properly his intake. This may well be determined by the characteristics of his language acquisition mechanism and not by those of the syllabus. After all, in the mother-tongue learning situation the data available as input is relatively vast, but it is the child who selects what shall be the input.

THE ERROR ANALYSIS

The translations of the 80 Spanish sentences by the 20 subjects yielded a corpus of 1600 English sentences. However, because two of the 80 sentences (#18 and #59) had to be omitted for technical reasons after the administration of the test, the corpus was actually 1560 sentences. In the analysis of the corpus only the Auxiliary (Aux) and the Verb Phrase (VP) were examined for errors. An error was defined as any mistake from a native speaker's point of view (discounting spelling errors or incorrect forms of the past tense of a main verb) generated by the misapplication of one or more of the structural rules of English. No other errors were considered. For example, the sentence *What guests can to bring to the party?* contains two errors. The first error is the lack of subject-modal inversion in a question, and the second is the use of *to* after the modal auxiliary *can*. The omission of the article *the* before the subject *guests* is an error to be ignored.

A Taxonomy of Error Types

Five categories of errors were established: *overgeneralization errors, transfer errors, translation errors, errors of indeterminate*

TABLE 1
Structures tested

Sentence types	non-_be_ pres V	non-_be_ past V	modal+V
Statements	(1) 3 sg sb (2) 3 pl sb	(3) 3 sg sb (4) 4 pl sb	(5) 3 sg sb+_will_ (6) 3 sg sb+_can_ (7) 3 pl sb+_will_ (8) 3 pl sb+_can_
Questions	(9) 3 sg sb (10) 3 pl sb	(11) 3 sg sb (12) 3 pl sb	(13) _can_+3 sg sb (14) _will_+3 sg sb (15) _can_+3 pl sb (16) _will_+3 pl sb
Negatives	(17) 3 sg sb (18) 3 pl sb	(19) 3 sg sb (20) 3 pl sb	(21) 3 sg sb+_can't_ (22) 3 sg sb+_won't_ (23) 3 pl sb+_can't_ (24) 3 pl sb+_won't_
Negative questions	(25) 3 sg sb (26) 3 pl sb	(27) 3 sg sb (28) 3 pl sb	(29) _can't_+3 sg sb (30) _won't_+3 sg sb (31) _can't_+3 pl sb (32) _won't_+3 pl sb
_Wh_-questions	3 sg sb: (33) sb-fs:_who_ (34) sb-fs:_what_ (35) ob-fs:_whom_ (36) ob-fs:_what_	3 sg sb: (37) sb-fs:_who_ (38) sb-fs:_what_ (39) ob-fs:_whom_ (40) ob-fs:_what_	3 sg sb: (41) sb-fs:_who+will_ (42) sb-fs:_who+can_ (43) sb-fs:_what+will_ (44) sb-fs:_what+can_ (45) ob-fs:_whom+will_ (46) ob-fs:_whom+can_ (47) ob-fs:_what+will_ (48) ob-fs:_what+can_
	3 pl sb: *sb-fs:_who_ *sb-fs:_what_ (49) ob-fs:_whom_ (50) ob-fs:_what_	3 pl sb: *sb-fs:_who_ *sb-fs:_what_ (51) ob-fs:_whom_ (52) ob-fs:_what_	3 pl sb: *sb-fs:_who+will_ *sb-fs:_who+can_ *sb-fs:_what+will_ *sb-fs:_what+can_ (53) ob-fs:_whom+will_ (54) ob-fs:_whom+can_ (55) ob-fs:_what+will_ (56) ob-fs:_what+can_
Negative _Wh_-questions	3 sg sb: (57) sb-fs:_who_ (58) sb-fs:_what_ (59) ob-fs:_whom_ (60) ob-fs:_what_	3 sg sb: (61) sb-fs:_who_ (62) sb-fs:_what_ (63) ob-fs:_whom_ (64) ob-fs:_what_	3 sg sb: (65) sb-fs:_who+can't_ (66) sb-fs:_who+can't_ (67) sb-fs:_what+won't_ (68) sb-fs:_what+can't_ (69) ob-fs:_whom+won't_ (70) ob-fs:_whom+can't_ (71) ob-fs:_what+won't_ (72) ob-fs:_what+can't_
	3 pl sb: *sb-fs:_who_ *sb-fs:_what_ (73) ob-fs:_whom_ (74) ob-fs:_what_	3 pl sb: *sb-fs:_who_ *sb-fs:_what_ (75) ob-fs:_whom_ (76) ob-fs:_what_	3 pl sb: *sb-fs:_who+won't_ *sb-fs:_who+can't_ *sb-fs:_what+won't_ *sb-fs:_what+can't_ (77) ob-fs:_whom+won't_ (78) ob-fs:_whom+can't_ (79) ob-fs:_what+won't_ (80) ob-fs:_what+can't_

Notes:

3=third person
sg=singular
sb=subject
pl=plural
ob=object
fs=focus

* Not acceptable in Standard English.

origin, and *errors not considered*. Each of these five categories was subdivided to form a total of 20 error types. Most of the 20 error types have more than one way of being manifested in the subjects' sentences. Appendix I presents the full taxonomy of error types. (A discussion of how that taxonomy was used in the error analysis, and the rationale for grouping the error types into the five categories is presented in B. Taylor 1975).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The data collected and analyzed for this study did not provide any clear support for the claim that either overgeneralization or transfer errors would be characteristically different for the elementary versus the intermediate subjects. Some trends were apparent, however. For example, only elementary subjects used *be* in an "all-purpose auxiliary function" to replace modals or *do*, and they had a distinct preference for unmarked verb forms (using unmarked verbs to fill an "all-purpose verb function"). Only intermediate subjects exhibited a consistent effort to hypercorrect verbal endings (notably their use of *-s* on plural verbs), and their efforts to hypercorrect question-formation (by inserting a redundant *do* when a modal was present) were more notable than the elementary subjects' less frequent attempts to do so.

However, the large number of similarities in the error types which were most common for the elementary and intermediate subjects tends to indicate that increased proficiency in English does not qualitatively affect the kinds of errors which a learner makes. While the intermediate subjects made fewer errors in almost every error type, their most frequent errors were usually also the errors which the elementary subjects made most frequently. Errors of subject placement in questions and the insertion of *to* after *can* were among the most common transfer errors for both elementary and intermediate subjects. Similarly, the lack of subject-modal inversion in questions was almost as common for the two groups of subjects, with that error being the most common elementary overgeneralization error, and the second most common intermediate overgeneralization error.

Although the results obtained in this study provide a good deal of counter-evidence to the claim that intermediate subjects overgeneralize or employ transfer strategies in characteristically different ways, there is considerable evidence in the data to support the claim that increased proficiency in English results in the use of these two learning strategies to different degrees. While overgeneralization and transfer errors may not be qualitatively different for elementary and intermediate language learners, they were found to be quantitatively different.

TABLE 2

Number of errors made by elementary (E) and intermediate (I) subjects in the eight sentence types in overgeneralization and transfer

Sentence type	Overgeneralization E	Overgeneralization I	Transfer E	Transfer I	Total E	Total I
Statements	18	9	11	0	29	9
Questions	32	9	35	4	67	13
Negatives	36	3	19	1	55	4
Negative questions	51	13	34	5	85	18
Subject *Wh*-questions	52	20	5	0	57	20
*Object *Wh*-questions	60	37	132	32	192	69
Neg subj *Wh*-questions	41	12	11	1	52	13
*Neg obj *Wh*-questions	105	33	101	26	206	59

* There were eight stimulus sentences in each sentence-type category except the obj *Wh*-questions (affirmative and negative) in both of which there were sixteen stimulus sentences. For a more realistic comparison with the other sentence types, the numbers in those two types should be divided by two.

Table 2 lists the number of errors made in each sentence type by the elementary and intermediate subjects, and it divides those errors into those attributable to overgeneralization and transfer. For example, of the 29 overgeneralization and transfer errors made in statements by elementary subjects, 18 were attributable to overgeneralization and 11 to transfer.

Table 3 presents the figures from Table 2 as proportions. It compares the ratios of the total number of overgeneralization and transfer errors made by the elementary and intermediate subjects in the eight sentence types with the distribution of those errors between overgeneralization and transfer. For example, .62 of all overgeneralization and transfer errors made in statements by elementary subjects could be attributed to overgeneralization.

An examination of the overgeneralization columns in Table 3 indicates that for every sentence type intermediate subjects made a higher proportion of errors attributable to overgeneralization than did the

TABLE 3

Proportion of elementary (E) and intermediate (I) instances of errors in the eight sentence types to the total number of elementary and intermediate errors per sentence type in overgeneralization and transfer and results of t-tests

Sentence type	Overgeneralization E	Overgeneralization I	Transfer E	Transfer I
Statements	.62	1.00	.38	0.00
Questions	.48	.69	.52	.31
Negatives	.65	.75	.35	.25
Negative questions	.60	.72	.40	.28
Subject *Wh*-questions	.91	1.00	.09	0.00
Object *Wh*-questions	.31	.54	.69	.46
Neg sub *Wh*-questions	.79	.92	.21	.08
Neg obj *Wh*-questions	.51	.56	.49	.44
mean	.61	.77	.39	.23
t	1.776*		1.776*	

* $p < .05$ one tailed

elementary subjects. A comparison of the means of these proportions also supports this result. These findings confirm the hypothesis discussed earlier that intermediate subjects rely more heavily on an overgeneralization strategy than do elementary subjects. Indeed, when this hypothesis was tested for significance by means of a t-test of difference between proportions, the differences were found to be significant (t—1.776, p<.05 one tailed).

The transfer columns in Table 3 indicate that for all sentence types the proportion of elementary errors attributable to transfer from Spanish exceeds the proportion of intermediate transfer errors. When the t-test was applied to these results, it was found that the transfer strategy was used significantly more often by the elementary subjects than by the intermediate subjects (t—1.776, p<.05 one tailed). These results also confirm the hypothesis discussed earlier that transfer is a more prevalent strategy among elementary students than among intermediate students. The major findings of this study are, then, that reliance on overgeneralization is directly proportional to proficiency in the target language, and reliance on transfer is inversely proportional. That is, as a learner's proficiency increases he/she will rely less frequently on the native language and on the transfer strategy, and more frequently on what is already known about the target language and on the overgeneralization strategy. Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between the proportion of elementary and intermediate errors in both overgeneralization and transfer.

A word of warning on the significance of the proportions of overgeneralization versus transfer errors listed in Table 3 is necessary. While it is possible to compare the elementary and intermediate overgeneralization errors, and the elementary and intermediate transfer errors, we should be careful not to compare across columns and attempt to compare overgeneralization and transfer. Since the figures represented in the overgeneralization and transfer columns represent different kinds of errors, comparing one to the other is similar to comparing dissimilar phenomena. As G. Richard Tucker has pointed out (personal communication), a test designed to allow subjects a free choice between making an overgeneralization or transfer-type error in their responses would have to be conducted before we could say that overgeneralization errors were more common than transfer errors. While that result certainly appears to be the case, it is not a statistically supportable conclusion to be drawn from the data which is presented in this study.

CONCLUSIONS

Several important conclusions can be drawn from this investigation into the relationship between the learning strategies of syntactic over-

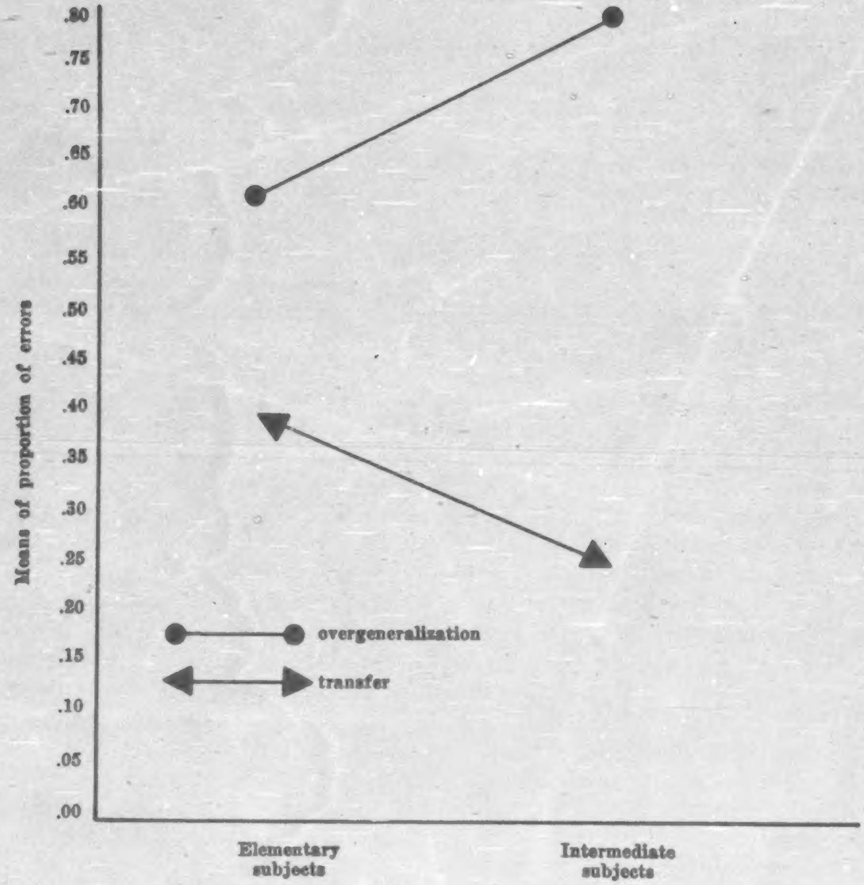

Figure 1. The means of the proportions of overgeneralization and transfer errors made by the elementary and intermediate subjects.

generalization and transfer, and the reliance of those strategies by elementary and intermediate adult language students.

The results reported here tend to confirm the weakness of a transfer-based theory of errors. The findings indicate that a large number of errors which second language learners make can be explained only within a framework which takes into account interference from within the target language itself. The errors which stem from that source have been referred to here as *overgeneralization errors,* and these errors have been explained as attempts by the learner to simplify and regularize the linguistic complexities peculiar to the target language.

One of the major characteristics of the overgeneralization strategy is that it results in a simplification of the syntactic system of the target language. For example, when a learner generates the sentence

He study there every night he demonstrates that his rule for present tense formation involves using a zero-morpheme to mark number for all persons. When he produces the sentence *Did they studied last night?* he indicates that his rule says that because the sentense is past, all verbs are in the past. When he says *Does she can cook well?* he tells us that his rule for question-formation requires that every question contain a *do*.

These three sentences illustrate three types of overgeneralizations which all result in a simplified grammar of the target language. The target language rule which says that all present tense verbs for all persons except third person singular require a zero-morpheme, but third singular requires *-s*, has been reduced to a rule which requires a zero-morpheme for all persons. The target language rule which requires that a verb in the past tense be in the simple form when it follows a modal or *do* in a question has been simplified to one which requires that a verb in the past tense always carry the tense marker. The target language rule which requires that *do* be inserted in questions only if there is no other auxiliary in the sentence has been reduced to one which requires that every question contain a *do*.

The learners' interlanguage rules which produce unacceptable target language utterances seem to stem from their cognitive characteristics and the resulting psychological learning strategies which they use to acquire the target language. It has been suggested throughout this study that the principal motivation behind the learning strategies which the learner brings to language acquisition is the desire to reduce the learning burden. Both the strategies of native language transfer and of overgeneralization will make the learner's task easier: when relying on the native language the learner avoids learning the target language rule; when overgeneralizing the learner relies on a target language rule of great generality and which he/she already knows, and avoids learning the appropriate rule.

Within this framework, overgeneralization and transfer learning strategies appear to be two distinctly different linguistic manifestations of one psychological process. That process is one involving reliance on prior learning to facilitate new learning. Whether transfer or overgeneralization will be the dominant strategy for a given learner will depend on the degree of proficiency in the target language.

Ausubel (1967) has claimed that successful long-term learning proceeds by a reliance on previous cognitive experience (i.e., prior learning). If we assume that, linguistically, the only "previous cognitive experience" which the elementary subjects had was their knowledge of Spanish, then it is easy to understand why the elementary subjects relied so heavily on the transfer strategy. The intermediate subjects, however, by virtue of having learned a considerable amount of English, had, linguistically, a broader previous cognitive experience and could rely on their alrealy acquired knowledge of English in attempting to generate acceptable English utterances. It is easy to see, then, why their reliance on the overgeneralization strategy was so much greater than that of the elementary subjects.

From the point of view of language learning, these results appear to indicate that adult learners of a second or foreign language begin relying on their ability to analogize, systematize, and regularize the target language data to which they are exposed immediately upon beginning to learn the new language. Because of their lack of familiarity with the new linguistic system, however, they also rely extensively on their native languages for support. With increased proficiency in the target language, they rely proportionately less frequently on their native language grammar, and rely more frequently on their ever-increasing knowledge of the target language, coping directly with it and overgeneralizing its rules.

APPENDIX

THE TAXONOMY OF ERROR TYPES

Overgeneralization Errors

- I. Redundant aux insertions
  - a. Insertion of *do* in a sentence containing a modal
  - b. Two *do's* in a negative question: *1st*: pres tense conjugated
    2nd: simple + *not*
  - c. Two *do's* in a negative question; *1st*: pres tense conjugated
    2nd: past tense + *not*
  - d. Insertion of *do* in a subject-focus *Wh*-question
  - e. Insertion of *be* in a subject-focus *Wh*-question (with the verb usually in the past participle form)
  - f. Insertion of *be* in statements and subject-focus *Wh*-questions (with the main verb in the simple form)
- II. Aux substitutions
  - a. Insertion of *be* instead of *do*
  - b. Insertion of *be* instead of *will*
  - c. Insertion of *be* instead of *can*
  - d. Use of *do* + *go to* + V instead of *will*
  - e. Use of $\left\{\begin{matrix} \textit{will} \\ \textit{would} \end{matrix}\right\}$ *go to* + V instead of *will*
  - f. Use of *will going to* + V instead of *will*
- III. Incorrect placement of negative marker
  - a. *not* placed after a tensed verb when no *do* has been inserted
  - b. *not* attached to *do* (inserted at the beginning of a question) in a question containing a modal to which the *not* should be attached
- IV. Incorrect form of main verb following an auxiliary
  - a. Past tense form of verb following a modal
  - b. Present tense *-s* on a verb following a modal
  - c. *-ing* on a verb following a modal
  - d. *are* (for *be*) following *will*
  - e. Past tense form of verb following *do*
  - f. Present tense *-s* on a verb following *do*
  - g. *-ing* on a verb following *do*
  - h. Past tense form of verb following *be* (inserted to replace a modal or *do*)
  - i. Present tense *-s* on a verb following *be* (inserted to replace a modal or *do*)
- V. Errors in the use of the infinitive marker *to*
  - a. Use of *to* + V after *will*

- b. Use of *to* + V after *do*
- c. Use of *to* + V after *be* (inserted to replace a modal or *do*)

- VI. Question-inversion errors
  - a. Lack of subject-modal inversion
  - b. Lack of subject-*do* inversion
  - c. Lack of subject-modal inversion in a question in which *do* has been inserted at the beginning
  - d. Lack of subject-model inversion in a question in which the modal has been left out and the model + V has been replaced by *to* + V
  - e. Lack of subject-modal inversion when the modal has been left out
  - f. Lack of subject-do inversion when *do* has been left out
  - g. Lack of subject-second *do* inversion when a *do* has been inserted at the beginning of a question, and a tensed and negated *do* follows the subject and precedes the verb
  - h. Lack of subject-*be* inversion when *be* has been inserted to replace *do*

- VII. Verb tense errors
  - on Aux:
  - a. *do*, present instead of past, when the sentence contains an unambiguous adverbial time reference
  - on Main Verb:
  - b. Main verb, present instead of past, instatements and subject-focus *Wh*-questions, when the sentence contains an unambiguous adverbial time reference
  - c. V + *ing* (without any *be* in the sentence) instead of conjugated present tense

- VIII. Verb number *errors*
  - on Aux:
  - a. *do* in singular instead of plural (unnecessary -*s*)
  - b. *do* in plural instead of singular (no -*s*)
  - c. *do* in singular instead of plural (unnecessary -*s*) when it is in the present tense instead of the past tense
  - d. *do* in plural instead of singular (no -*s*) when it is in the present tense instead of the past tense
  - e. *do*, in simple form + *not*, inserted before a verb, when the subject is singular and there is a correctly conjugated *do* inserted at the beginning of the question
  - f. *be* in singular instead of plural when it has been inserted to replace *do*
  - on Main Verb:
  - g. Main verb, plural instead of singular (no -*s*), in statements and subject-focus Wh-questions
  - h. Main verb, singular instead of plural (unnecessary -*s*), in statements and subject-focus Wh-questions
  - i. Main verb, plural instead of singular (no -*s*), when the modal is omitted from the sentence and the main verb must carry tense and number (only in affirmative statements—not in negatives (except if the main verb is *be*) or in questions)
  - j. Main verb, plural instead of singular (no -*s*), in statements and subject-focus Wh-questions when the verb is present instead of past

Transfer Errors

- IX. *Do*-insertion errors
  - a. Lack of insertion of *do* in negatives and questions, with the tense (-*s*, -*ed*) left on on the main verb
  - b. Lack of insertion of *do* in negatives and questions, with the main verb in the simple form
  - c. Lack of insertion of *do* in negatives and questions, with the wrong tense (-*s*, -*ed*) on the verb

- X. Errors in the use of the infinitive marker *to*
  - a. Use of *to* + V after *can*

- XI. Incorrect placement of the negative marker
  - a. *not* placed before the simple form of the verb in a question, and not on the *do* that is at the beginning
  - b. *not* placed before *will*

- XII. Word-order errors
  - a. Placement of subject after the main verb instead of after *do* in questions
  - b. Placement of subject after the main verb instead of after the modal in questions

- c. Placement of subject after the main verb instead of after *do* (which was not inserted) in questions
- d. Placement of subject after the main verb instead of after the modal (which was not inserted) in questions
- e. Placement of subject after the main verb rather than after *be* (which was inserted to replace *do*) in questions
- f. Placement of subject after the main verb instead of at the beginning in statements

Translation Errors

XIII. Aux substitutions
- a. Use of *do* instead of *will* or *can*
- b. Use of a modal (*will* or *can*) instead of *do*
- c. Substitution of one modal for another (among these are the use of *will* for *can*, *would* for *will*, *might* for *can*, *can* for *will*, *may* for *will*, and *should* for *can*)

XIV. Negative substitutions and omissions
- a. Lack of *not*-insertion in a desired negative sentence
- b. Insertion of *not* in a desired affirmative sentence

XV. Main verb omissions
- a. Omission of a main verb following *do*
- b. Omission of a main verb in a sentence containing *can*, and with a *do* inserted at the beginning
- c. Omission of a main verb following a modal

XVI. Modal/tense substitutions
- a. Main verb, in the simple present tense, instead of modal + V
- b. Main verb, in the past tense, instead of modal + V
- c. Main verb in the simple form instead of modal + V (simply an omission of the modal)

XVII. Tense substitutions

on Aux:
- a. *do*, present instead of past, when the sentence contains either no or an ambiguous time reference
- b. *do*, past instead of present, when the sentence contains either no or an ambiguous time reference

on Main Verb:
- c. Main verb, present instead of past, in statements and subject-focus *Wh*-questions, when the sentence contains either no or an ambiguous time reference

Errors of Indeterminate Origin

XVIII. Incorrect use of the infinitive marker *to*
- a. Use of *to* + V in a sentence in which *do* has not (but should have) been inserted
- b. Use of *to* + V instead of a conjugated verb
- c. Use of *to* + V instead of modal + V

XIX. Incorrect placement of the negative marker
- a. Insertion of *not* after the main verb instead of after the modal in the sentence

Errors Not Considered

XX. Among these are the following:
- Incorrect translation of vocabulary
- Incorrect past tense forms
- Misplacement/misuse of adverbs
- Incorrect use of prepositions
- Errors in verb forms not being investigated
- Omission of subjects
- Change in subject number from singular to plural or from plural to singular

The Next 25 Years: Shaping the Revolution*

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Under the reign of second emperor of the Ming Dynasty there lived an executioner by the name of Wang Lun. Wang Lun was a master of his art and his fame spread through all the provinces of the empire. There were many executions in those days, and sometimes as many as fifteen or twenty men were beheaded at one session. Wang Lun's habit was to stand at the foot of the scaffold with an engaging smile, hiding his curved sword behind his back, and, while whistling a pleasant tune, to behead his victim with a swift movement as he walked up the scaffold.

Now this Wang Lun had one secret ambition in his life, but it took him fifty years of strenous effort to realize it. His ambition was to be able to behead a person with a stroke so swift that, in accordance with the law of inertia, the victim's head would remain poised on his trunk, in the same manner that a plate remains undisturbed on the table if the tablecloth is pulled out with a sudden jerk.

Wang Lun's great moment came in the 78th year of his life. On that memorable day he had to dispatch sixteen clients from this world of shadows to their ancestors. He stood as usual at the foot of the scaffold. Eleven shaven heads had already rolled into the dust after his inimitable master stroke. His triumph came with the twelfth man. When this man began to ascend the steps of the scaffold, Wang Lun's sword flashed with such lightening speed across the neck that the man's head remained where it has been before, and he continued to walk up the steps without knowing what had happened. When he reached the top of the scaffold, the man addressed Wang Lun: "O cruel Wang Lun, why do you prolong my agony of waiting when you dealt with the others with such merciful and amiable speed?" When he heard these words, Wang Lun knew that the ambition of his life had been accomplished. A serene smile appeared on his features; then he said with exquisite courtesy to the waiting man, "Just kindly nod, please."

For some time now schools and universities around the world have been innocently attempting to teach foreign languages by means of certain types of methods and techniques without the slightest awareness that the very foundations of those methods have been cut out from under them. The swift sword of psycholinguistic research has flashed so quickly across the profession that some have scarcely noticed it. But sooner or later a look here or there will quickly topple those illusions. What is the nature of this executioner's sword? What has led up to the present situation, and what is the future of the language teaching profession over the next 25 years?

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* This is a slightly revised version of a presentation made at the TESOL Convention, March 7, 1975. The somewhat informal style of the oral presentation has been preserved here.

There is no question that language teaching, like many other disciplines, has gone through a cyclical history over the past century or so. Approximately every 25 years the prevailing methodology has basically changed. Before the 20th century there appears to have been no real method; the so-called Classical Method was widely used with little variation evident from medieval times to the turn of the century.

In the late 19th century linguists like Francois Gouin began to question seriously this rather unsuccessful academic routine. Gouin himself, after an agonizing and unsuccessful year of trying to learn German by means of one self-devised "method" after another, discovered that his own son learned a language in a matter of a few months, and decided that the *child* ultimately held the secret to learning a language. What resulted was the Gouin "Series" Method (see Gouin 1880) which, along with the Direct Method, formed the first language teaching "revolution" of sorts in modern history. Unfortunately though, Gouin was a man ahead of his time and many of his Piaget-like assertions were lost in a sea of doubts about the Direct Method and language teaching in general. And so, very soon after World War I there was a return to a somewhat "beefed-up" form of the classical method, now called the Grammar-Translation Method. The third phase of language teaching came at about the mid point of the century with the Audio-Lingual Method (ALM). This was really the first widespread language teaching revolution. Drawing upon some of the tenets of the Direct Method and upon principles of behavioral psychology the ALM rejected most of the practices associated with the Grammar Translation Method. We're all familiar with ALM (really more accurately a group of methods since there are so may variations thereof that it is no longer a single method).

As we moved into the 1960's, many looked upon the ALM as the "last word" in language teaching and many still do. The ALM has become so ingrained now that it is thought of as "traditional." But the 1970's has brought some serious criticism of the ALM. In theory, a behavioristic, programmed approach appeared to be ideal. But it turns out that people aren't sheep to be herded along in uniform fashion. Suddenly we look around us and nothing seems to work: most of the linguistics and most of the teaching methods of the past 30 years don't work: contrastive analysis doesn't work, transformational grammar doesn't work, Grammar-Translation doesn't work, the ALM doesn't work, even the "Michigan Method" doesn't work. And that pretty well sums up our situation in 1975: nothing works—the economy doesn't work, democracy doesn't work; the great American dream is a nightmare. What better setting for a revolution? And according to our 25-year timetable, 1975 is the year of the revolution.

Now that our collective language teaching head has been swiped off, it is only a matter of time until we discover the severed lifelines of the past. Something new is urgently needed in its place. But where is the revolution? Is there a new paradigm on the horizon which will lead us out of the present mire and disillusionment? I think there is.

Let me outline what I see as five emerging characteristics of this revolution.

First, unlike the audiolingual revolution, the next revolution is based on cautious, enlightened eclecticism. Almost everything went out the window when the ALM took hold; some bathwater to be sure, but unfortunately most of the baby too. This time around we are wary of the "bandwagon" approach to changing language teaching methods, as Grittner (1973) recently pointed out.

The positive aspects of several theories and methods are all coming to bear. But let's beware of thinking that there's some magic about eclecticism. It's quite easy to say "I'm an eclectic", and dip haphazardly into every attractive aspect of every conceivable method or theory, and then jumble everything together. It's quite another matter to practice enlightened eclecticism—that is, to engage in an intelligent use of selected approaches built upon and guided by a well-informed, broadly-based theory of second language acquistition.

The best teacher training programs don't necessarily expose trainees to hundred of techniques and texts and gimmicks; above all, they help future teachers to understand what language is, how humans learn in general, and thereby to help each person formulate for himself a rationale for language teaching—a foundation of linguistics, psychology, and other disciplines that will guide a person in making optimal choices in approach, method, and technique. This kind of firm foundation can enable a person to go through a professional career making intelligent choices. That is the kind of electicism that the new revolution depends upon.

Second, we now find that theoretical linguistics is not the salvation it was first thought to be. Six years ago Krohn (1970) and Lamendella (1969), among others, effectively pointed out the limitations of linguistics in evoking language teaching methods and techniques. With only a very few opinions to the contrary, it is now overwhelmingly clear that we cannot expect of recent linguistic theory what we expected of structural linguists several decades ago. Structural linguistic theory was compatible with language teaching methodology. For example, Fries's (1952) slot-filler model produces "instant" pattern practice drills. The more recent trends toward deeper levels of analysis leave the language teacher not only confused but often turned off. Since what we're teaching is, theoretically, the surface level of language, a theory of deep structures provides a bit of insight to the teacher at best; although a glimmer of hope may lie in psychologically "real" grammar (H. Brown 1972b).

We're rapidly discovering that the acquisition of language—first or second—is an unfathonable mystery and that the language of the human species is deeply controlled and motivated by cognitive and affective domains; these two factors make the relevance of abstract, formalized linguistic theory remote.

The third characteristic of the new revolution is a result of a recognition of tremendous variation from learner to learner. Human beings do not behave, each one, like the other, consistently or uniformly. In a task as complex as language learning it is impossible to expect two people to acquire a languarge in the same way, something which researchers are painfully aware of. One of the most frustrating obstacles of experimental research in L2 acquisition is the problem of variability across learners and even within learners. How can one method, one technique, one text, or even one curriculum be optimal or useful for several learners plopped into the same track? It's a wonder that anyone ever actually does learn a language in our classrooms! I'm pushing ahead into the fifth characteristic a bit, but one of the questions which is now being asked seriously is whether or not language can be *taught* at all; I've often felt that we should think of language classes as instruments of "intervention"—we intervene in the process of language learning, and hope that that intervention is beneficial. But too often language classes are obstacle courses where the most successful student—the "good" language learner (Rubin 1975)—is the one who avoids obstacles.

Our traditional language texts and curricula are going to have to change; they are changing already. Every person is unique and little is in common across individuals, but what is common is that we all are human and all have the urge to communicate; we need to capitalize on that humanity and communicativity. LaForge's (1971) Community Language Learning and other methods are good examples dealing with the humanity of the language learner. The key is to capitalize upon the urge to communicate by creating or making use of real situations of meaningful communication. Furthermore, we need to start believing in the ability of adults to be successful in language acquisition. We have come to believe that once the critical age of puberty is reached that our brains are frozen and we are linguistically handicapped. Unfortunately most of the evidence for that assumption comes from Western society. There is absolutely no conclusive evidence that an adult is cognitively deficient in his ability to acquire a foreign language. It's time our classroom methodology set aside these cultural prejudices and assumed instead that an adult can and will learn a foreign language. The power of positive thinking may be greater than we suspect.

A fourth characteristic of the new paradigm is found in a "new wave" of research in second language acquisition. To be sure, the field is many centuries old; however, for perhaps the first time in history, L2 research is characterized by a rigorous empirical approach coupled with cautious rationalism. The rationalistic but empirically substantiated approach to first language acquisition typical of the last decade is now being applied to L2 research. The building momentum is widespread. At the present time it is difficult to tell where this research will lead us in terms of language teaching methodology. Some progress is being made and we have an excellent beginning but we have many years to go before we can really draw conclusions about L2 acquisition (L2A). Furthermore, one of the most promising and urgent areas of research lies in the affective domain. This area, maybe more than the linguistic, might be the key to unlock the mystery of L2A.

The fifth and final characteristic of the new "revolution" is a focus on the psychological aspects of language—that is, the cognitive and affective domains of human behavior, particularly the affective. Stevick (1974), LaForge (1971), Gattegno (1972), and H. Brown (1973) point to the affective domain as crucial to language learning. Given the necessary motivation, ego permeability, extroversion, and empathy one should never fail to learn a language.

Stevick (1974) recently noted that language teaching must do an aboutface. We've been teaching by first providing means, then goals, then data flow, then personal relationships. This order—which according to Stevick makes for "defensive" learning—needs to be reversed: "we should become accustomed to a new way of seeing" (p. 384), starting with personal relationships. We need to become human again, to teach persons.

I have covered five areas rather briefly, and while these five characteristics are certainly not exhaustive, I think they are indicative of the direction we are turning. But lest we all think that because of the complexity of this revolution there is no need for "methodology" any more, and that the input of various disciplines is without value, let me add a word of caution. The very first characteristic of the revolution is eclecticism; we must at all costs avoid completely abandoning "old" techniques and methods simply because they are old. We must judicously benefit from the failures and successes of the past. According to the historical timetable, 1975 is the year of the revolution but it will not be a sudden coup, certainly nothing like the swift stroke of

Wang Lun's sword. No doubt the language teaching profession will undergo a slow but very profound change over the next 25 years.

The only way in which the next "revolution" will be shaped in an effective manner is through the careful, intelligent research and development of every teacher. We must *all* become good linguists, good psychologists, good researchers, good teachers, and of course, above all genuine human beings.

RESEARCH ON TEACHER BEHAVIOR AND CURRICULUM

Delayed Oral Practice in Initial Stages of Second Language Learning

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to examine the advantages for the language learner of not being required to speak in at least the initial stages of language learning. A description will be given of an experimental study in an elementary school in which the listening comprehension and oral production skills of students learning Spanish as a second language were compared under two different teaching approaches: (1) one group of students was not required to speak at all for the first 14 weeks of the study nor for the first half of each lesson in the final 7 weeks; (2) the second group of students was required to speak immediately upon hearing the modeled language from the first day on.

BACKGROUND

It has generally been assumed that one learns a second or foreign language by using it productively as soon as possible. That is, while modern ESL methodologies have in theory emphasized that listening should precede speaking, in practice the productive skill of speaking is almost always utilized simultaneously with the receptive skill of listening. Thus, while students may be asked to produce only what they have already heard, they will be required to do so almost immediately after having heard it.

An examination of the realities of first and second language acquisition strategies reveals that such immediate oral practice does not need to be the case for developing both productive and receptive oral competence in a second language. Indeed, for many learners, delaying oral practice may be preferable, both from an affective viewpoint and from the point of view of language acquisition theory.

As we all know, the affective dimension in language learning is extremely important. In order to effectively speak a language, children or adults must feel "ready"—both perceptually and psychologically. Perceptually, language learners must have some comprehension of the language system they are trying to internalize. Psychologically, they must feel comfortable about using the language productively. Thus, they should not be forced to speak before they are perceptually and psychologically ready. If forced to speak before they are ready, students will be ill-at-ease with the language, and in attempting to speak, they will be distracted from their main goal—learning the system underlying and therefore prerequisite for use of the language.

From the point of view of language acquisition theory, there is considerable evidence—both anecdotal and experimental—in first and second language acquisition studies that a great deal of language competence, including productive competence, can be learned through receptive means—that is, through listening and reading.

For example, in first language acquisition, Lenneberg (1967) cites evidence that normal children learning their first language demonstrate comprehension of sentences at least six months before demonstrating readiness to speak. And, in fact, one does not have to speak at all to acquire language competence—i.e., to utilize for communicative purposes the system of rules underlying language—as Lenneberg (1962) points out in his "Understanding Language Without Ability to Speak: A Case Report."

With respect to second language acquisition, when language learners are not required to speak, it has been shown that they too prefer to concentrate on their receptive skills for an extended period of time before producing language. Thus, for example, in a recent article in the *TESOL Quarterly* Ervin-Tripp (1974) concludes that the process of second language acquisition looks much like the first in natural situations. She describes 31 English-speaking children ages 4 to 9 in a Swiss school where the language of instruction was French and the teachers spoke little or no English. She notes that "some of the children said nothing for many months" (p. 115). Her own children started speaking after 6–8 weeks' immersion in the school setting.

This strategy of delaying active speech production is by no means confined to *children* in natural second language situations. For example, Sorenson, an anthropologist who has studied Columbian and Brazilian Indian cultures where a strong social value is placed on the ability to communicate fluently in foreign languages, reports that the Indians don't practice speaking a language until they know it well.[1] Rather adults and adolescents first receptively familiarize themselves with the pronunciation and syntax of new languages. When the new languages are finally spoken, they are spoken with great fluency. Thus, because a high value is placed on fluent use of languages, the Indians appear to be utilizing the most effective strategy they know for learning language—delaying oral production until reaching an appropriate state of readiness.

A number of experimental studies have shown that for either adults or children, it is possible to accelerate the rate of acquiring listening comprehension when second language listening training either excludes or precedes oral practice for an extended period of time. Emphasis on such listening training has also been shown to contribute to the development of oral fluency.

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[1] See Jane H. Hill, Foreign Accents, Language Acquisition, and Cerebral Dominance Revisited, *Language Learning*, 20,2, 1970, for a fascinating discussion of evidence such as Sorenson's study of how cultural pressures can produce proficient adult second language learners.

In two 12-week studies Postovsky (1970) compared a delayed oral response approach with an audio-lingual approach to second language learning where students were required to mimic what they heard from the first day on. The non-verbal response mode for the experimental subjects was writing. The experiment was designed to test the effect of delayed oral practice on the productive skills of speaking and writing as well as on the receptive skills of listening and reading. The experimental subjects made a transition to speaking after 4 weeks. Test measures of all four language skills favored the experimental group over the control group both at the end of 6 and 12 weeks. At 6 weeks there was a significant difference in favor of the experimental group in speaking, reading and writing; and in the rate of learning between the 6 and 12-week measures, the experimental group also proved superior in listening comprehension.

Asher has conducted a number of studies of both adults and children on the benefits of listening training without required speaking (see e.g., Asher 1966, 1969a, 1969b, 1972). Most of his work has been designed to evaluate the effects on listening comprehension of either delaying or omitting oral practice under a variety of conditions.

Asher advocates what he calls "the total physical response technique" (TPRT) for teaching language through listening. In this technique students are not required to respond verbally. Instead they listen, for example, to a command in a foreign language and then immediately respond along with the instructor with an appropriate physical action. This technique can be used in a variety of imaginative ways to give students practice in appropriately responding to what they hear. Students receive immediate feedback from their instructor by comparing their response with the instructor's. For example, a student can demonstrate comprehension of commands or a variety of both *yes/no* and information questions through this approach by such gross motor acts as walking, pointing, jumping, moving parts of the body, or picking up things. Asher's work has demonstrated that listening comprehension of both adults and children can be successfully accelerated through delayed oral practice and physical response training.

Despite Postovsky's and Asher's very interesting work, a number of important questions remained to be explored. First of all, Asher's work focused mainly on the effects of the TPRT on listening comprehension; he did not test the effects of such delay on oral production. Secondly, with the exception of an 8-week German language program for adults (Asher 1972), Asher's experiments consisted of quite brief training periods. The effects of an *extended* period of delayed oral practice on both the oral production and on the listening comprehension of children remained to be determined.

While Postovsky's work involved testing the effects of delay in *oral* production on the whole range of language skills, his subjects were responding from the beginning in a *productive* mode—namely, in writing. Thus the question of the effect of delaying both the productive skills of oral practice and writing remained. Furthermore, Postovosky's subjects were adults.

An interesting question that remained was what the effect would be of an extended period of delayed oral practice on both the listening comprehension and oral production of children. As languages are commonly taught to school children through some variation of the audio-lingual approach requiring immediate oral production, it was determined that a study was needed to compare both comprehension *and* oral production skills of (1) children learning a second language through delayed oral practice and a gross motor response mode, and (2) children learning a second language through an audio-lingual approach. Of particular interest was the question of how effective a delayed oral practice approach would be in comparison with an audio-lingual approach in a typical school language program involving a relatively small amount of daily time and a relatively large number of students per teacher. Asher has noted that there seems to be a relatively high degree of positive transfer from listening skills to all others. If this could be shown to be true in the typical school environment, then a great deal of beginning language could be taught through a receptive mode. Concomitantly, this would allow a higher degree of flexibility in teaching approaches than a methodology which stresses the necessity of oral production.

THE EXPERIMENT

To explore the above questions, the following study was designed. Its specific purpose was to determine the effects on native English-speaking children of delay in oral practice in initial stages of learning Spanish in lessons where comprehension was assessed by required non-verbal gross motor responses, such as nodding or pointing to objects, and where immediate corrective feedback was given as to the appropriateness of student responses.

The general research hypothesis was

> Experimental subjects instructed for 22 weeks in a given Spanish program, having oral practice totally delayed for the first 14 weeks and for the first half of each remaining lesson, following a brief transition period, would have significantly better

> performance scores in measures of aural comprehension (as exhibited in responses to commands and question) and in oral production (as exhibited in transformations of indirect to direct discourse) than control subjects instructed in the same program but having concomitant oral practice.

It should be noted that this is the strongest possible form of the hypothesis. That is, it says that students who were not required to speak in initial stages would perform significantly better on measures of speaking and listening comprehension than students who were required to speak in initial stages. A weaker but still meaningful form of the hypothesis was that students who weren't required to speak in initial stages would do *at least as well* as students who were required to speak. If this could be found to be the case, then teachers would no longer have to feel compelled to spend a lot of time on oral drill.

There were a number of attendant hypotheses which there will not be space to discuss here; however, it should be mentioned that it was also hypothesized that the Experimental subjects would be more favorably disposed to their language program than the students who were put under pressure to verbalize from the very beginning.

The experiment was conducted over a five-month period in 1972 with 50 lower elementary school English-speakers randomly assigned to an Experimental (EG) and Control (CG) treatment consisting of 85 25-minute Spanish lessons taught daily by the same teacher. The lessons and lesson materials used by the Experimental subjects were a modified version of Spanish lessons developed by Consultants in Total Education, a bilingual education research and development corporation in Los Angeles. The lessons and lesson materials used by the Control subjects were an adaptation of these materials which differed only in that they required the students to utter commands and questions as well as to respond to them from the first day of class on.

With respect to lesson content, students learned to utilize basic grammatical structures of standard Spanish in a meaningful context requiring a limited and concrete vocabulary. The main emphasis was on acquiring the rule system underlying the language, rather than on acquiring an extensive lexicon. The lesson format was designed to direct the children's attention toward the lesson objectives at all times, to require them to form and test hypotheses, and to ensure their success.

The independent variable manipulated between Control and Experimental groups was the presence or absence of oral practice. It should be emphasized that the CG and the EG had equal amounts of listening practice throughout the experiment; that is, both groups heard the teacher model each sentence approximately the same number of times. What distinguished the two groups was the presence or absence of oral practice.

Oral practice was present for the CG throughout the experiment. Oral practice was totally absent in the EG during the first 14 weeks (Phase I of the program) and absent in the first half of the daily lessons in the final 7 weeks (Phase II of the program).

The dependent variables were the basic language skills of comprehending and speaking as measured by the two daily lesson tests given to each group and by individual tests given to the children at the end of the 14th and 22nd week, which included tests of comprehension, oral production, and attitude toward the program.

RESULTS

What did these tests reveal?

With respect to listening comprehension, application of a one-tailed sign test (Siegel 1956) to test error data plotted daily on the control series design (Campbell 1969) revealed significant differences favoring the EG, both when looking at Phase II question responses separately and question responses throughout the entire experiment. Also, command response data leaned in favor of the EG both in Phase II and throughout the entire experiment, but differences were not significant. Command and question response differences were not significant on the 14 and 22-week tests.

With respect to oral production, the test error data plotted daily on the control series design during Phase II did not reveal differences favoring the EG. However, on the final 22-week tests, oral production measures were found to favor the EG, though the differences were not statistically significant. Also, a comparison between the 14th-week and 22nd-week test data revealed increases in the final test scores for the EG while revealing decreases for the CG during the same period of time. In other words, it can be said that the EG's rate of learning appeared to be superior to the CG's. Given this performance trend, it was speculated that with additional lesson time, the EG oral production performance might have become significantly superior to the CG.

Thus we can see that the stronger form of our hypothesis was borne out for comprehension and the weaker form was borne out for oral production.

With respect to the attitudinal measure, the majority of both the EG and CG subjects were favorably disposed toward their respective programs. A number of the experimental subjects specifically mentioned not having to speak right away as being the main reason they liked their program.

IMPLICATIONS

What are the implications of this study for the classroom teacher? It appears that a delayed oral practice approach to initial second language learning combined with a physical response mode can be effective both for developing listening skills and for developing oral competence, given an extended period of active listening practice. As it was only at the end of the study that the weaker form of our general research hypothesis was borne out for oral production, further research needs to be done on this question.

If it is true that the learner can develop effective speaking skills as well as listening skills in the above manner then the teacher can be freed from the monotony of group oral drill and have more flexibility for individualization of instruction. Listening activities can be viewed as the integral or core part of the curriculum. The teacher can structure a variety of activities both at the class level and at the individual level which will allow him or her to maximize teaching efficiency. The teacher will want to experiment to determine the optimum amount of delayed oral practice and the optimum mode of non-verbal response, which will vary according to the age and learning styles of the students. Group activities could include the telling of stories or the showing of films sequenced according to content. These activities would be followed by comprehension questions sequenced according to grammatical and semantic structure and designed to elicit nonverbal responses. Individual activities could include students actively listening to tapes or records, accompanied by visual aids, with the knowledge that later they would be required to demonstrate their comprehension of these materials in a variety of nonverbal ways.

It is important to note that such a delayed oral practice approach to learning language cannot be used haphazardly. It must be a carefully sequenced program requiring *active* listening, where the students are both required to demonstrate their comprehension and are given corrective feedback about their responses.

Finally, for teachers whose second language teaching involves other than beginning students, Carroll (1973) has recently pointed out that a period of extended listening requiring nonverbal responses may be beneficial at the intermediate 'plateau' stage of language learning, as well as in the initial stages of language learning. Research on this promising possibility remains to be done.

Problems in the Study of the Language Teacher's Treatment of Learner Error[1]

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It seems common now to read that errors are crucial to language learners (see Dulay and Burt 1974a) because learners learn, it is argued, by forming hypotheses about the target language and by testing their hypotheses to destruction. It is clear from studies of rule-learning by hypothesis formation and testing (see Wason 1971) that negative instances are far more informative than positive instances and therefore error-making (the creation of negative instances) would appear crucial to language learning.

It is equally clear from such research that subjects tend to prefer creating positive instances, even though such a procedure is incapable of permitting the elimination of alternative hypotheses. Without going so far as Braine (1971) who doubts the general validity of a hypothesis-testing model for language acquisition, we can concede that what is important, probably, is not that the learner deliberately creates negative instances as the most efficient way of testing any current hypothesis[2], but that the learner should learn to distinguish negative from positive instances, regardless of

(a) whether or not instances of either sort have been deliberately created as part of a hypothesis testing process, and regardless of
(b) who creates them.

(b) turns out to be particularly important, I believe, as soon as we think about classroom learning, because it is clear, there, that any one learner is only one of a number of creators of positive or negative instances. The learner in a class can get information about what is or is not permissible in the target language, not only from feedback about personal attempts to use the language but also from:

(i) everything the teacher says in the target language, on the assumption (not necessarily justified but at least understandable) that the teacher is always right;

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[1] For orienting me towards the study of the language teacher's treatment of learner error, I am wholly indebted to John Fanselow of Teachers College, Columbia University. For all their very considerable help in producing the data and patiently discussing various stages of this paper, my gratitude goes to Anne Stokes, Gerry Loftus, Michael F. McTear and Michael MacFarlane, all currently studying at the University of Essex, England.

[2] Thus we cannot expect that a learner will, say, deliberately form a passive in accordance with a hypothesis he assumes to be incorrect, although this procedure, from a strictly logical point of view, might enable him to very efficiently check the validity of the hypothesis he wishes to establish as a rule.

(ii) everything the other learners say in the target language, in the light of the way the teacher reacts

Neither must we forget:

(iii) everything the teacher says *about* the target language, again assuming the teacher is always right,
(iv) everything the other learners say *about* the target language, again in the light of the way the teacher reacts.

What this means in practice is that, if we want to study how any one learner learns in class, we must study everything that happens in class (note that we are assuming, for the sake of simplicity, but perhaps unwisely, that out-of-class activities are insignificant) to all the learners.

To focus in this paper on the teacher's treatment of learner error is, seen in this light, to adopt a rather narrow focus, because it means concentrating on what might be called the potential crisis points[3] in the process, ignoring all the other occasions on which any learner might get information about the target language. And yet it is a much broader viewpoint than the one of conventional error analysis. First of all because it attempts to deal with the classroom context in which errors occur, as well as with the errors themselves. And secondly, because it attempts to take into account the social nature of this context, not in terms of an assumed 1:1 relationship between teacher and learner, but in terms of a complexity of relationships between teacher and learners.

The general hypothesis behind all this amounts to a hunch, at least, that, among Selinker's (1972) five processes of second language acquisition, transfer of training (loosely defined) may be even more important than is commonly assumed.

From another angle entirely, the sort of investigation under discussion could be seen as potentially contributing to research on teacher effectiveness. In the short term, at least, this is going to be the main focus of such investigations, given the relative ease with which teachers can be studied, compared to the methodological complexities of a longitudinal study of individual learners in full classroom context.

It certainly seems reasonable, assuming the argument so far has been coherent, to go from saying (a) that the making of an error by any learner constitutes a potential crisis point for that learner and any other in the same classroom (and is, therefore, especially worthy of investigation if we wish to understand the process of classroom learning), to saying (b) that such crisis points are also crisis points for the teacher, in that the teacher's reaction to learner error will be the major factor in determining what the learners actually learn, and (c) that therefore a teacher's way of handling these crisis points will be central to that teacher's effectiveness (see also note 3). Such a claim is undoubtedly optimistic, given how difficult it has been for educational researchers interested in classroom processes to isolate key variables in teacher effectiveness (see Rosenshine 1971 for a full discussion of this problem), but at least, again assuming the foregoing arguments are valid, there are logical as well as intuitive reasons for a certain amount of optimism.

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[3] '*crisis* points' because an error is typically seen as evidence of failure of some sort (rather than as evidence of deliberate hypothesis-testing). Note it can be evidence of teacher failure, as well as, or rather than, learner failure. Thus the self-confidence of both teacher and learner are at risk. In addition learner failure calls for remedial action and the teacher may add to his/her own failure if he/she is unable to provide treatment satisfactorily. The teacher has failed both to prevent the error and to provide a cure for it. Thus it seems reasonable to refer to the occasion of error as a potential (at least) crisis point in the classroom.

What we discover when we look at teachers in the classroom, is that, as Fanselow (1974 and personal communication) has argued, teachers are typically rather imprecise in their treatment of learner error, tending to repeat the correct model rather than provide any obviously adaptive treatment, and tending to fail to explicitly locate errors for the learners (i.e. indicate precisely at which point in the utterance the error occurred). It is intriguing that strong exceptions to this can be found among 'Silent Way' teachers, who may refuse to repeat the model of the correct utterance but who will locate the error to the nearest syllable. It appears, in this case, that a method, designed to force learners back on their own resources all the time, may actually give more precise help than is usual elsewhere.

The second point that emerges immediately from classroom studies is that teachers are not only imprecise, they are also inconsistent in their treatment of learner error. Mehan, at San Diego (1974) has shown how a teacher trying to apply a criterion such as 'only full sentences will be accepted' can appear very inconsistent on close analysis. Some of the inconsistency arises from an understandable lack of precision (as when a teacher accepts a partial utterance for what is in fact right about it, but fails to make explicit that it is some element of content that is being accepted, not the partial nature of the utterance itself). On other occasions the teacher may simply be relaxing the rule to help a particular learner, not because the learner has in fact produced a partial utterance with something in it worth encouraging, but because the teacher feels that that learner needs a more relaxed approach from the outset. At other times the inconsistency may be the product of a simple lack of self-discipline on the part of the teacher. The word 'inconsistent' has pejorative overtones that are not necessarily appropriate, of course. Teachers have a duty, perhaps, to be inconsistent, in the sense that they must adjust their treatment of any error to the needs of the moment. At the very least the teacher must reserve the right to adapt to the individual differences among their learners. To put it more directly: in order to be consistent in giving the appropriate treatment to all learners at all times, teachers must run the risk of appearing inconsistent in their application of criteria of acceptability.

There is no need, of course, to assume that teachers will be effective if they always provide the most precise treatment of learner error, and, equally clearly, we cannot assume they will be effective if they always insist on exactly the same standard of acceptability. What we can perhaps assume is that teachers need to be aware of the potential they have for creating confusion in the minds of learners, given the typical lack of precision, on the one hand, and the inconsistency (if only apparent) that seem to characterize their treatment of learner error. This is no doubt familiar ground for any teacher trainer who gets involved in close analysis of student teachers' classroom performance. The type of investigation discussed here would not aim, perhaps, to do more than provide such teacher trainers with more refined tools for their analyses—analytical tools that might facilitate the identification of the different error and error-treatment types. More important, however, would be the potential contribution of such studies to our understanding of teaching/learning classroom processes, an understanding that might one day relate error treatments to learning outcomes in a way that would do justice to the complexities of the classroom situation.

There are, then, three distinct but closely related foci for any investigation. First of all (in logic if not in fact) there is the possibility of improving our understanding of learners' ways of learning in classrooms. Secondly, there is the possibility of improving our understanding of the teacher's contribution, for good or ill, to the learners' learning. And thirdly, there is the possibility of developing techniques that would play some part in helping teachers improve their classroom skills.

Which ever focus is adopted, methodological problems abound. Observational studies are clearly essential, and Fanselow has already given an example of how they might be conducted (1974 TESOL Convention), but Fanselow's seems almost the only example we have to date. Firstly, there is the question of the identification of error. Given a videotape recording and a detailed transcript of a lesson, can we locate all the 'error events' in it? Do we include 'failure to respond' as an error? If we do, then we have the problem of identifying 'failures to respond.' This may seem a trivial problem, until we reflect that one would presumably start by locating in the transcript those occasions where an elicitation was not followed by a student response of some kind. Perhaps, faced with such a failure, the teacher would have repeated the elicitation, or moved to another learner. Going back to the videotape recording we might then notice that failure to respond is perhaps necessarily teacher-defined (although we may be hoping to identify errors on external, teacher-independent, criteria). The teacher defines the failure by intervening at a certain point in time after the original elicitation. One moment later the learner might have begun a perfectly acceptable response.

T Eulyces (pause)
I started
S2 I stotted
(Lines 190–2 of the transcript in the Appendix)

In a sense, the teacher actually creates the failure, then. Again, 'Silent Way' teachers present an intriguing exception, since they are trained to wait with infinite patience far beyond the point at which other teachers would intervene. In case it might appear that a trivial problem is being pointlessly exaggerated, reference should perhaps be made at this point to Brophy and Good's (1974) major survey of their own and others' work on expectancy effects:

> Teachers have been observed to provide more time for high achieving students to respond than for low achieving students. The determinants of this behaviour could include excessive sympathy for the student, teacher anxiety, and lack of probing skills, among others. (330–331)

Waiting time, therefore, is a variable on which teachers do vary and sometimes it would seem, in appropriately. It would be unwise, no doubt, to attempt to ignore it in our investigations of teachers' behaviour, and equally unwise to attempt to ignore 'failure to respond' in our investigations of learners' behaviour. We include 'failure to respond' then, both on the grounds that it could represent learner error in an extreme form, and also on the converse grounds that it could represent an important aspect of teacher behaviour that one might want to characterize as 'error creating.'

Having accepted 'failure to respond' as worthy of investigation, but also having accepted that we may in so doing be investigating error as defined by the teacher's behaviour, we then return to the original problem of distinguishing between 'errors' and other classroom events. Is a teacher-behaviour-defined concept of error acceptable in general terms? Clearly we cannot define as errors only those events that get treated as errors, overtly, in the classroom, since that would beg at the important questions.

T I started at Essex on the fifth of October. When did you start (Nominates by gesture)
S4 I start in in Excess since the eleventh of January

> T When did you arrive? You arrived on the eleventh of January, did you? You must have started the next day, did you?
>
> Lines 176–179

We are forced, I believe, to adopt George's (1972) definition of an error as a form unwanted by the teacher or course designer. If we are focussing on the teacher we may wish to investigate his or her classroom behaviour by reference to his or her conception of the target language. We would then ask the teacher to study the videotape recording and the transcript and help us locate all the events that involved language not acceptable in his or her view. So we would be accepting a concept of error, defined by the teacher, but by the teacher's judgement on reflection, not by the teacher's classroom behaviour, (the distinction is clearly important). In most circumstances that will probably be the most satisfactory procedure. It was followed for the purpose of establishing the pilot data on which this paper is based. But we will need to find teachers who are capable of viewing their own teaching objectively, and such teachers may not be representative of the majority. They may be expected, for example, to be more consistent in their acceptability judgements, if they are more 'objective' generally.

If we are focussing on the learner, then the above teacher-defined (but post-hoc) concept of error will appear even more problematic. Firstly, learners may have their own conception of the target language. Consider the case of English speakers in Montreal being taught French by teachers from France itself, when they, as Canadian learners, might be aiming at Canadian French norms. The transcript was made from a videotape recording of a class of Venezuelan undergraduates being taught, for the occasion, by a Canadian native English speaker, in an English university—a fairly complex pattern of target languages was thus involved. In other circumstances, in an English grammar school, for example, it is going to be possible sometimes to find learners who are better informed about the target language (if only in minor and very particular ways) than their teachers having different target languages in view or to find different learners in the same class. The mere possibility of such cases makes it difficult to accept a purely teacher-defined concept of error.

A further possibility would be to take the views of an independent expert, if one is available, but here we run the risk of an analysis that misses the point because the target language, so defined, is the target neither of the teacher nor of the learners necessarily.

For simplicity's sake we are going to find ourselves trying to limit our investigations to situations where a high degree of conformity can be expected between the views of teachers and learners as to what constitutes the target language. If we can also have teachers who are native speakers of the target language, and make that language also the native language of ourselves the researchers (who can thus act as the relatively independent experts) the whole situation can thus be considerably simplified, but at some expense, of course, since most language teaching the world over is probably not in the hands of native speakers of the target language.

All of the above worries, however, may have suggested that errors need to be categorized only in purely linguistic terms. This is clearly not the case since even casual observations of teacher-behaviour make it apparent that the teacher is responding to more than the purely linguistic characteristics of errors, and we need to reflect this fact in our analyses. For example, the severity of a teacher's reaction may depend more on a judgement of the amount of effort the learner was using than on any judgement of the extent of the deviation from the target language norms. For this sort of reason a trivial deviation, in linguistic terms, may often be 'punished' more severely than a linguistically much more serious deviation, its very triviality being sufficient proof that only carelessness could have caused it.

Four major ways of categorizing errors seem relevant to any study of the treatment of error. These are summarised below:

ERROR TYPE

A. LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION:		1. Content area
		2. Skill area.
B. IMPORTANCE:	(a) PRESENT:	3. Relevance to pedagogic focus.
		4. Frequency
		5. Number of learners affected.
	(b) FUTURE:	6. Accuracy
		7. Communicative effectiveness.
C. SOURCE:		8. Interlingual inference.
		9. Intralingual inference.
		10. L_2 learning strategy.
		11. Communication strategy.
		12. Teaching
		13. Carelessness (including obtuseness)
		14. Stress (anxiety, fatigue, etc.)
		15. Factual ignorance
D. EASE OF CORRECTION:		16. Teacher's competence.
		17. Resources available.
		18. Time available.

These are not mutually exclusive, of course. On the contrary, the teacher's behaviour may need to be based on a categorization in all four ways at once. Neither is the order in which they are presented above necessarily significant. It reflects logical simplicity, perhaps, but no more. The 18 sub-categories seem to be the minimal number that will do justice to the facts that observation has so far revealed. Most, if not all, of them can be illustrated by reference to the transcript. For example, it is clear, as far as one can tell, from the transcript that many errors have been completely ignored. Sub-category 3 (relevance to pedagogic focus) is probably highly relevant to the teacher's behaviour, since many of the ignored errors are in no obvious way related to the focus on dates and how to say them. Sub-category 15 (factual ignorance) is also frequently illustrated in the transcript, wherever the teacher attempts to insist, as in lines 178–9:

> T When did you arrive? You arrived on the eleventh of January, did you?
> You must have started the next day, did you?

on adherence to the truth about learners' recent movements.

This analysis of types of errors will be refined as observational studies proceed. Already it suggests the complexity of the problem. It is the sort of analysis one might use in studying a transcript, but it is also an attempt to suggest the complexity of what lies behind the classroom behaviour of the teacher. The teacher's error analysis has to be 'instant'. He or she cannot, unlike the usual error analyst, just wait to see if an error is statistically frequent before he or she reacts to it. And any treatment given, typically, is public, a fact that has consequences of considerable complexity for the researcher as well as for the teacher.

The key task for the teacher, then, is firstly to sum up the whole situation on the spot, and then to react appropriately, in public, conscious of the need to treat the problems of the individual without misleading or confusing the other learners. In summing up the situation, the teacher may make simultaneous reference to any number of the 18 sub-categories of error type. He or she will also need very basic information of the following sort, and it may not be, in fact, readily available:

1. What was actually said or done.
2. Who said or did it.
3. What was meant by it.
4. What should have been said or done.

In addition, the teacher may need to know:

5. What the native-language equivalent would be.

Armed with as much of this information as is available (and the teacher may have to probe the learner to establish 3, for example), the teacher is now perhaps in a position to select from the various treatment options open to him or her. The basic seven treatment options so far established by observation are listed below, together with a further nine possible features of treatments. This analysis is particularly tentative, especially the distinction between 'basic options' and 'possible features,' hence the continuous numbering from 1 to 16.

TREATMENT TYPE

A. BASIC OPTIONS:

1. To treat or to ignore completely.
2. To treat immediately or delay.
3. To transfer treatment or not.
4. To transfer to another individual, a sub-group, or to the whole class.
5. To return, or not, to original error-maker after treatment.
6. To call upon, or permit, another learner (or learners) to provide treatment.
7. To test for efficacy of treatment.

B. POSSIBLE FEATURES:

8. Fact of error indicated.
9. Blame indicated.
10. Location indicated.
11. Opportunity for new attempt given.
12. Model provided.
13. Error type indicated.
14. Remedy indicated.
15. Improvement indicated.
16. Praise indicated.

The transcript contains an intriguing example of options 3 and 4, when, in line 208:

T All together . . . (on the thirteenth of January)

the teacher apparently abandons a learner who almost wilfully, it seems, (see error type 13) repeats an error of fact. The teacher deals with the problem by asking the whole class to try to get it right. As soon as they do the sub-topic is changed.

There is an involuntary example of option 6, on lines 193-4.

T (started
(
S1 (start

when one learner provides a model response at the same moment as the teacher. Unfortunately the learner's model is both incorrect and persuasive, as we see in line 196

I start on on Essess eh fourteen January

where the original error maker copies his fellow-learner, rather than the teacher. The teacher takes up option 1 and ignores this particular misfortune.

Of the possible features of error treatments, this particular teacher tends to indicate errors by modelling what should have been said, but lines 185-9:

S1 I start at Essex on the thirteenth of January.
T On the thirteenth of January.
S1 Yes
T Again
S1 I start at Essex on the thirteenth of January.

suggest, since there is no evidence of learner-error in that bit of the utterance the teacher chooses to model, that this procedure is not entirely systematic. The learners cannot be sure that any repetition of what they have said necessarily indicates error, nor that absence of repetition indicates correctness—see lines 177-8

S4 I start in in Excess since the eleventh of January.
T When did you arrive? You arrived on the eleventh of January, did you? You must have started this next day, did you?

The location of an error tends to be made by the modelling of only a part of what the learner has said. This reduces the problem for the learner, perhaps, but does not necessarily locate the error with very much precision. Again the device is not used with absolute consistency, which could lead to considerable confusion. Lines 198-212:

S2 Fourteenth January
T I started at Essex on the thirteenth of January.
All right, Eulyces: on the thirteenth of January . . .
S2 On the th
T Thirteenth
S2 On the fourteenth of January
T of January
S2 of January
T on the thirteenth of January
S2 on the fourteen of January
T All together . . . . . . (on the thirteenth of January
(
SSS (on the thirteenth of January
on the thirteenth of January
T All right. I started at Essex (Gesture for choral response)
SSS I started at Essex on the thirteenth of January.

suggest a teacher focus on the factual incorrectness of the date quoted, but stress is not used to isolate the date (it would have produced an 'artificial' utterance, of course, which the teacher might well have wish to avoid). In addition line 204:

T of January

could be interpreted as indicating a different location of the error under attack, although in fact it seems more reasonable, for us as observers, to interpret this line as indicating the teacher's desire to use what the learner had got correct to build up self-confidence and facilitate a fully correct utterance. It is not at all clear how the learner in question perceived the situation, but it is clear that the learner failed to change the date. Unfortunately what was said during the choral practice is not recoverable from the recording—lines 210-212:

SSS on the thirteenth of January
T All right. I started at Essex (Gesture for choral response)
SSS I started at Essex on the thirteenth of January.

These few examples should serve to illustrate the suggested analysis of error treatments. None of the above comments on the transcript is intended of course, to be interpreted as constituting a statistically interesting description of typical teacher behaviour.[4] In fact, the original classroom recording was made simply for the purpose of providing pilot data that would be useful in establishing the above analytical frameworks.

To pursue the analysis a stage further, towards the problem of how learners may interpret any given treatment on any given occasion (and thus how a teacher will need to plan the treatment, however 'instantly', to ensure the appropriate interpretation) it will be helpful to move from the complexities of real data to the relative simplicity (if only for layout purposes) of constructed data. Consider the following simulated sample of classroom discourse:

T When's your birthday, Alvaro?
Alvaro Twelfth November
T Okay. Now, Santos, when's *your* birthday?
Santos Fourteenth of September
T No. Listen: *the* fourteenth. Again . . . . . .

Assuming British English is the agreed target language, let us imagine that Alvaro is known to the teacher as a careless learner who does not repay individual attention, since he makes no attempt to learn from any feedback he gets. Let us further imagine that Santos is a keen student, the converse of Alvaro, as far as the teacher is concerned.

So, looking back at the (artificial) data, we see that the teacher ignored the omission in Alvaro's utterance, perhaps because he/she felt any time spent on them would be wasted; but the teacher refused to accept Santos' otherwise less deviant utterance, persumably because he/she felt Santos would respond well to correction.

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[4] Nor, clearly, must the close analysis of one teacher's behavior be interpreted as constituting a criticism of that behavior. It is only (though not merely, I hope) an attempt at description and interpretation.

But, the following questions arise:

(i) Does Santos know that Alvaro is careless?
(ii) Does Santos know that the teacher knows (or merely thinks) that Alvaro is careless?
(iii) Does Santos know that the teacher thinks that he (Santos) is serious and can be expected to react well to correction?
(iv) Does Santos know that the teacher has decided that Alvaro's carelessness is Alvaro's problem, not his, and therefore that the teacher's treatment of Alvaro is not to be considered reliable evidence of what is or is not acceptable?
(v) Does Santos know, in fact, that the teacher's use of 'Okay' was not meant to indicate approval any more than his use of 'No' was meant to indicate complete rejection?

If all the answers are affirmative, and if all the other learners, including Alvaro, are equally aware of the situation, no confusion will have been generated. But what right do we have to assume affirmative answers? For subjects other than languages learners it may seem quite reasonable to assume that the learners in a class (especially after some years together) will know the rules of the game very well, given that they are familiar with each other and are operating in their native language. But language learners, especially learners away from home, are likely to find themselves among strangers, and trying to learn the rules of a game played in the very language they are learning. The fact that learners do cope, and do even learn something of the target language in class, is perhaps to be taken more as evidence of the highly complex patterns of behaviour humans take for granted (without a thought for the researcher!) than as evidence of any unnecessary complexity in the analysis.

If Santos, however, is unaware of the teacher's intentional differential treatment of himself and Alvaro, then all sorts of interpretations are open to him as to the facts of the language, and the meaning of the teacher's behaviour. For example:

(i) Absence of *the* is wrong for *Fourteenth of September* but
    (a) optional for *Twelfth November*
    (b) obligatory for *Twelfth November*,
    (c) presence of *of* necessitates presence of *the*
    and
    (d) absence of *of* necessitates absence or optionalizes presence of *the*,
    etc., etc.
(ii) Absence of *the* is always wrong but:
    (a) T failed to notice with Alvaro,
or (b) T is victimizing Santos,

or (c) T is being easy on Alvaro,
SP: T is unreliable, unfair, inconsistent.

This additional type of analysis, in terms of the interpretations open to the learner (or learners) at any point, complicates the whole research problem considerably. It suggests a further set of problems for teachers, too, who must, we assume, attempt to avoid confusion in the classroom. Teachers need a way of predicting the interpretations their behaviour will give rise to. The effectiveness of their treatment of error will depend on how it is perceived rather than on what it 'is' or is intended to be. Teachers' behaviour, in turn, will depend on how they perceive the learner or learners they are dealing with. The following factors, at least, are going to be relevant:

1. Individual differences, e.g. personality type, first language, culture, cognitive style, intelligence, aptitude, etc.
2. Past history, e.g.
   academic record, errors previously observed, treatment types previously used, etc.
3. Current state, e.g.
   motivation, anxiety level, arousal level, level of aspiration, fatigue, etc.

Space does not permit the development of this type of analysis to the original logical problem of the learners' interpretation of negative and positive instances of the target language, and of the teacher's need to help the learners reach the correct interpretations of the target language.

This paper has attempted to indicate both the wealth of interest and the methodological complexity that confront the researcher investigating the language teacher's treatment of learner error. This preliminary work, based on pilot data only, has permitted the elaboration of analyses that need to be refined by further observational studies. Enough has been done already to lend support to the original judgement that the treatment of the error variable would prove extremely interesting to study, but it should be pointed out that nothing has yet been done (by the researcher) to establish the pedagogical importance of the variable. This remains a sadly distant aim, but one that must not be allowed to move out of sight.

APPENDIX

Extract from a lesson recorded at Essex University, England, February 1975

176 T I started at Essex on the fifth of October. When did you start? (Nominates by gesture)
S4 I start in in Excess since the eleventh of January.
T When did you arrive? You arrived on the eleventh of January, did you? You must have started the next day, did you?
180 S2 (the eleventh of January

S5 (the twelfth
S5 No, I we start at thirteenth
T on the thirteenth of January
When did you start at Essex? (Nominates by gesture)
185 S1 I start at Essex on the thirteenth of January
T On the thirteenth of January.
S1 Yes
T Again.
S1 I start at Essex on the thirteenth of January
190 T Eulyces (pause)
I started
S2 I stotted
T (started
S1 (start
195 S2 I . . . . ( ) Aside to S1 in Spanish
I start on on Essess ch fourteen January.
T I
S2 Fourteenth January
T I started at Essex on the thirteenth of January.
200 All right, Eulyces: on the thirteenth of January . . . .
S2 On the th
T Thirteenth
S2 on the fourteenth of January
T of January
205 S2 of January.
T on the thirteenth of January.
S2 On the fourteenth of January
T All together . . . . (on the thirteenth of January
SSS (on the thirteenth of January
210 on the thirteenth of January
T All right. I started at Essex. (Gesture for choral response)
SSS I started at Essex on the thirteenth of January.
T Good. Good
Were you at University before?

Notes on Transcript

Line	
177	Many errors—relatively weak learner chosen
178	Above errors ignored, except for error against truth concerning data
180–2	Learners sorting out truth. Errors of pronunciation, person and tense form ignored subsequently.
183	T models full correct date phrase
185	Tense form error
186	T confirms correct phrase, ignores tense form error.
188	T requests repeat
189	Tense form error again
190	T ignores above error and renominates
191	S2 hesitates, T models start of utterance
192	Pronunciation error
192–3	T remodels but so does S1, repeating own tense form error
195–6	S2 seeks S1's help, in Spanish, then copies S1 rather than T
198	S2 spontaneously self-corrects 'fourteen' to 'fourteenth'
199	T remodels full correct utterance. No emphasis on factual error
200	T acknowledge S2's difficulties, and remodels final phrase
201	S2 pauses after 'th'
203	S2 repeats factual error
204	T ignores factual error, repeats what S2 got right
206	T remodels correct phrase
207	S2 repeats factual error, omits 'the'
208	T transfers treatment to whole class
213–4	T praises satisfactory choral responses and changes sub-topic.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION: ISSUES IN PROGRAM PLANNING

Language Planning in a Multilingual Community in the U. S.

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The problem of doing language planning in a multilingual community in the United States has built into it the difficulty of identifying a starting point, or, at least, of identifying the position and perspective of the planner. Because much of the literature on language planning has grown out of the needs and experiences of developing nations, less attention has been given to language planning in developed countries such as the United States. Perhaps this fact explains some apparent limitations in the way some scholars have looked at language planning. Let me cite two examples and explain the difficulties they seem to pose for approaching language planning in a multilingual community in the U.S.:

> Good planning theory, therefore, explicitly recognizes the supremacy of the expressed preference of a defined political community (which we will assume to coincide with a speech community . . . and which *according to our definition of planning is a nation*). [Emphasis mine] (Jernudd 1973: 12)

> Our understanding of planning implies that the decision-makers choose a satisfactory, or even optimal, course of action but within limits of given amounts of resources and *only in order to reach the goals that have been approved by the political authority*. [Emphasis mine] (Jernudd & Das Gupta 1971: 198–199)

The first statement adopts a convention that is fairly common, namely, using the nation as the basic unit for considering language planning. Most writers acknowledge that language planning also goes on at various levels within the nation, but decide in favor of the nation-unit when developing models, typologies, and definitions (Ferguson 1966, Kloss 1968, Rustow 1968, Jernudd 1973). But using the nation as a basepoint seems inappropriate in the U.S. if one is interested in planning for maintenance or development of multilingual communities. There is no national policy, nor agency, nor framework for such planning. Two recent instances of national policy regarding non-English languages (the Bilingual Education Act and the Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols*) were actually both the result of political efforts based regionally or locally on behalf of political-linguistic minorities. That brings me to the second statement, which seems to limit language planning to goals established by existing political authority. That statement, at least on the surface, seems to wave a red flag in the face of speech communities which are linguistic and political minorities and whose members consider themselves oppressed by the political and linguistic majority. At least, that seems certain to be the reaction of many Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and other oppressed people in the United States. Here, even if we consider planning on a regional, state, or municipal level, linguistic minorities may find many objections to goals approved by the political authority (e.g., state legislatures, school boards, city councils).

Thus, focusing language planning on the nation and goals set by established authority in the United States could easily mean inexorable movement toward elimination of all multilingual communities in the country. The U.S. is prepared to protect the right of individuals (the Bilingual Education Act and *Lau v. Nichols* are both conceived as ways of remedying educational deficiencies of individual students of limited English-speaking ability) in the matter of language, especially in relation to formal schooling. But no recognition is taken of the right of an non-English speaking *community* to maintain or develop itself. For these reasons, I find it difficult to approach this question from a national view and within the goals approved by present and past political authority. Instead, I would like to approach the question using *community* as the basic unit and assume non-governmental entities may be a source of goal-setting. In short, in the U.S., it seems to me quite possible for a local community to plan the maintenance or development of a language other than English without any formal, legislated change in current national policies and attitudes regarding such goals.

The next step is to clarify the notion of "community." There are two senses in which this concept is useful here. The first sense is the geo-political or legal sense in which a state, a county, a city, a school district (or some combination of such entities) are seen as a community. This "legal" community has some established processes for developing policy. Such legally defined communities may be very diverse linguistically; some may be quite homogeneous. The second sense of "community" is one characterized (a) by demographics and (b) by some collective awareness or consciousness. This sense of the word involves not only identifying numbers of people on such variables as age, sex, ethnicity, religion, mother tongue, other tongue, etc., but also identifying those groups with common demographic characteristics which exhibit or are attempting to build a common feeling that is both culture and language specific (e.g., *gemutlichkeit, carnalismo*, soul). For reasons of simplicity, I will refer to the first sense of community as "community of law" and to the second as "community of spirit." I hope to show the importance and usefulness of this distinction in later sections of this paper.

With these conceptual preliminaries worked out, I would like to return to my basic concern: what kind of language planning might a multilingual community in the U.S. engage in? I can now deal with this question by assuming that "multilingual community in the U.S." refers to a "community of spirit" which has manifested concern about remaining bilingual or expressed interest in developing and expanding its language codes and language functions (Haugen 1966). Under these conditions, a slightly modified version of the language planning process described by Joan Rubin (1971) could provide a framework for planning. Rubin describes four stages: fact-finding, planning (goals strategies, outcomes), implementation, and feedback. However, some generalized goal-setting occurs before fact-finding. The very expression of a desire for language maintenance or development by members or representatives of a community of spirit sets an initial goal. Such expressions are the impetus to fact-finding, which Rubin (1971: 218) describes this way:

> . . . the planner must investigate the existing setting to ascertain what the problems are, as viewed both by persons who will execute the plan and by persons who will be targets of the plan.[1]

Fact-finding should involve two processes: (a) community self-study, in which members and leaders of the community of spirt assess the social, cultural, political, and economic factors relevant to language use with the community; (b) dialogue between representatives of the community of spirit and language planners, politicians, educational leaders, and business leaders, which aims at communicating the results of the community self-study to appropriate non-community members as well as at obtaining "expert" assistance in critically analyzing the self-study. In those communities of spirit without skilled language experts, I conceive some ideal form of dialogue, comparable to the best traditions of ethnography and linguistic fieldwork, in which the community member-planner and the scholar-planner meet as equals, each recognizing the other's special competence and "expertness." In fact, this section owes much to the thinking of Paulo Freire (1970), who has helped develop and make known a radical and apparently successful approach to developing adult literacy among oppressed people. Central to his approach is the assumption that such people already have considerable knowledge of their language and culture and simply need to develop critical awareness of it through dialogue in a process Freire calls "conscientization."

This process of dialogue should be ongoing and would move rather naturally into the next stage, the "actual planning." According to Rubin, the task here is to "establish goals, select the means (strategies), and predict the outcome" (1971: 219). It is here that members of the community of spirit and decision-makers in the relevant communities of law would assess the usefulness of bilingual-bicultural education programs as one of the strategies to accomplish particular goals of language maintenance and language development. I will explore this question more fully in a later section.) Once the goals are specified, based on data gathered earlier, the major task in this stage is deciding which aspects of language require formal treatment (e.g., standardization, codification, second language teaching, media development) and which aspects may best flourish without formal, conscious treatment. An inherent assumption here is that not all aspects of language maintenance or development benefit from professional teaching (Illich 1973, Freire 1970).

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[1] The language of this passage may reflect one of the problems of conceiving language planning in national terms. The words "execute" and "targets" are unfortunate and likely not consonant with the aspirations of a community spirit.

Once those decisions are made, the process enters the implementation stage. Actually, the very process of community self-study will likely cause some actions to be taken and cause others to be avoided within the community of spirit itself. Other decisions will not be clear until the dialogue process is entered into, but some of these may lead to actions, or decisions against action, solely within the community of spirit. Other aspects of implementation will necessarily involve one or more communities of law and thus implementation will involve schemes of cooperation between the various communities involved. The processes of implementation within the community of spirit may differ significantly from those conducted in cooperation with communities of law.

In the final stage of Rubin's outline—feedback—actual outcomes are assessed and then compared with the planned outcomes. This process provides data for reconsidering one or more of the preceding stages. Again, much of the feedback and revision process may take place within the community of spirit, including an assessment of the impact of actual outcomes on the processes and attitudes adopted by decision-makers in the relevant communities of law. Regarding the dynamics of this process, Rubin (1971: 220) says:

> It is important to emphasize that planning must be seen as a continuous process. All of the decisions of the planner will need to be reviewed regularly because the goals of the decision-makers are in a state of continuous change, because the means and their assessment are always changing, and because the environment is constantly changing. Moreover, any given plan is subject to change because the policy makers themselves may also change.

In short, language planning is not likely to be a neat, orderly, highly predictable activity—nor should it be, any more than language itself ought to be neat, orderly, and predictable.

What I have attempted thus far is to outline a pattern of how language planning might proceed in the United States in a multilingual community, assuming that the community wishes to maintain or develop the bilingualism of its members. I have taken this approach since, given the overwhelming dominance of English in both official and everyday life, one of the chief reasons for language planning and language policy in the U.S. should be cultivation of non-English speaking communities. (This is consonant with Rubin's description of Neustupny's "cultivation approach" which is most often found in modern industrial societies [Rubin 1973].) Since there is little hope that minority linguistic communities can achieve political dominance nationally, it seems unlikely that the best interests of these communities can be served by planning and policy developed nationally. Inevitably, a national plan will be dominated by speakers and advocates of the already dominant language. Thus, if there is any hope of maintaining and developing multilingual communities in the U.S., it lies within those communities. Plans for their survival must come from community members themselves.

With those assumption in mind, I would now like to focus on a specific, hypothetical multilingual community in the U.S. to illustrate some implications of the outline presented above, especially as they apply to education and schooling. The hypothetical setting for this community in a small suburban California city (pop. 60,000). The relevant communities of law are the city council, two elementary school boards, a high school board, and a community college board of trustees. The non-English speaking population within the city boundaries is slightly less than 30% of the total. Estimates of the distribution of languages based on ethnic surveys made by the county produce these figures:

Chicano	15%	Chinese	3%
Latino	5%	Japanese	1%
Filipino	4%	Others[2]	1%

The dominant socio-economic characteristics are middle class (professional and white collar), though a sizeable minority of residents are working class, about one-third of these being union members. No member of any of the linguistic minorities mentioned holds a seat on city council. One elementary school board has a Chicano member; the other elementary board has a Japanese member, a person who knows the language, but no longer uses it in his own home. No minority members sit on the high school or community college boards.

The hypothetical community of spirit which has manifested concern about maintenance of its language is the Chicano community, whose members live primarily in three different areas of the city, only one of which can be considered a *barrio*. The primary manifestation of Chicanismo or *carnalismo* is through a local organization called the Chicano Coalition (in other cities, this function might be served by a local chapter of LULAC, MAPA, or MECHA). Activities of the Coalition include support of a local health facility for poor people, monitoring of a private non-profit welfare services organization, development and implementation of affirmative action in city hiring, investigation of flagrant instances of discrimination, and pressuring local school districts to be more responsive to the needs of Chicanos. This group also coordinates the annual Cinco de Mayo observation in the city and sponsors several social and cultural event for Chicanos (dances, speakers, films, etc.) throughout the year. Coalition meetings are conducted in Spanish with some English translations in summary form for those who have difficulty keeping up with Spanish. Until recently, the Coalition functioned sporadically, becoming most active when a particular issue or project required attention. Now, however, the Coalition seems more organized and more systematic in its efforts to promote *la raza*. A frequent concern mentioned during Coalition meetings is the perceived decline in the use of Spanish by children in the community. Fears are often expressed that letting the language fall into disuse will mean that an important link to their historical and cultural heritage will be lost to these children and, ultimately, to the community. Given this background, I would like to illustrate how language planning as I have discussed it might take place.

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[2] This category reflects great diversity of languages and small numbers of speakers per language. Instances of every major language family in the world are found.

The preliminary goal of the community of spirit is simply maintenance of the language in those domains where it is now used. Planning in relation to that goal begins when a group of Coalition members form a committee to discuss ways of encouraging the use of Spanish by young people in the community. In my outline of the planning process, the first fact-finding would occur through community self-study. To accomplish this, the coalition committee might precipitate extensive discussion among themselves, among other coalition members, and among as many other community members as will tolerate it. The discussion would likely include relative importance of Spanish and English within various domains, such as family, friends, church, school, work, government, merits of the particular varieties of Spanish and English used within the community, influences (such as print and electronic media) that seem to be causing some shift away from Spanish for some speakers and some domains; the relationship of Chicano language concerns to those of other communities of spirit in the city. However, unless this community included members who were trained in sociolinguistics, the social psychology of language, or other specialized fields, the discussions would not be conducted in these technical terms. Instead, they would probably be in everyday language, and include various folk beliefs about language. I stress this point, because I think it may be essential to the goal of maintenance that members of a particular community discuss and consider in their own terms what is important to them in their language code and language use, so that they may more effectively evaluate the kinds of facts about language that professional language planners (linguists, teachers, political scientists) may be able to provide.

Let me illustrate the kind of conflict that can develop when a different process of planning is attempted. Recently the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP) issued a report (Gaarder 1971) containing recommendations for teaching native speakers of Spanish in their mother tongue. The report asserted two basic assumptions prior to presenting specific recommendations: (1) Spanish in the U.S. is "as worthy of use and development as the Spanish of any other region of the world"; (2) the profession of Spanish teachers seeks to join hands with the near ten million speakers of Spanish in the U.S. in their common cause—the Spanish language. But having said that, the report asserts its major linguistic goal is to "give the learner full command of and literacy in world standard Spanish." Here the professionals had already decided what was best for the community prior to the community defining its own goals. Not surprisingly, a Chicano linguist, Eduardo Hernandez-Ch. (1972a:6) has responded to the AATSP report in this way.

> . . . our primary rationale for learning and maintaining Spanish is not so that it will serve as a link to Latin America, but so that it will become a strengthening and reinforcing bond for chicanismo within our own communities. Standard Spanish will not only detract us from this goal, it will be an alienating factor. We cannot go into our communities to talk to the people in standard Spanish and expect to effectively gain a feeling of confianza and carnalismo. To do this naturaly and effectively, we must use the language of the people, our language, Pocho.

If the Hernandez-Ch. view reflects that of many Chicano communities, then the profession of Spanish teachers may have great difficulty in "joining hand" with Chicanos in order to teach them world standard Spanish.

Thus, only after the community self-study—a summary description of the ideas and opinions expressed during the study-discussion process—has been completed should fact-finding move into formal, technical sociolinguistic studies. Even then, these studies should be conducted jointly by language experts and community members, thus providing some of the latter the opportunity to develop sociolinguistic inquiry skills. The questions to be studied in this way will be focused and constrained by the results of the self-study. Thus, if this community had expressed a clear preference for extending Chicano

Spanish to the school domain, formal inquiry should focus on issues of codification and availability of resources (teachers and written materials), but not on standardization. On the other hand, if the community found itself divided between Chicano Spanish advocates and standard Spanish advocates, then this question would be an obvious one for formal fact-finding. The dynamics of language planning are such that members of this Chicano community might revise their ideas of the information they need after experts have indicated possibilities not previously considered. No doubt some information on the existing language situation (e.g., how accurate are the estimates based on the ethnic survey?) and the conditions favorable to maintenance would be required (Fishman & Lovas 1970; Rabin 1971). As for the techniques of data-gathering in the formal aspect of fact-finding, several methodologies already exist (language surveys, attitude studies, ethnographies). Again, the choice of methodology should be made jointly between community members and language experts, to insure congruence with the community's language planning goals.

In many ways, the next stage is the crucial one in the planning process. Here, goals are set, strategies are chosen and outcomes are predicted (or at least assumed). The important task for the planners is to insure that the community is aware of the full range of alternatives in both goals and strategies. To illustrate, if the goal in our mythical community is to develop the use of Spanish among children in the domains of home, friendship, and church, the alternatives presented should not be simply a dualmedium-language program in grades K-6 versus offering Spanish for Spanish speakers in grades K-12. Given this goal, an alternative such as an adult literacy program in Spanish for parents and others who care for children should be considered. And the educational setting need not be limited to the school. Perhaps such alternatives as conducting the Spanish literacy program at work places and child care centers should be weighed against a more traditional school setting. On the other hand, if the community goal were to develop bilingual and bicultural competence in the domains of work and school, then one major strategy could be some kind of bilingual schooling. However, it doesn't seem likely that schooling alone would be sufficient for achieving such a goal. In this case, giving preference in jobs to bilingual applicants or of developing high-paying jobs with bicultural prerequisites may be necessary alternatives to consider. As before, the members of the community of spirit must actively assent to the goals and the strategies chosen to achieve those goals. And it should be understood that a community that chooses not to make any conscious efforts to manipulate their language situation has in fact chosen one possible strategy to achieve its goal.

Another aspect of this "actual planning" stage is consideration of whether the plan can be implemented within the present resources (people, materials, funds, time) of the community of spirit or whether implementation requires the approval and cooperation of one or more communities of law. In this latter case, the concept of a community of spirit may be particularly useful. Often, when proposals are made to school districts to provide a bilingual program for a particular language group, some decision-makers throw up their hand with a panicked, "I suppose tomorrow the Hungarians will want the same thing!" Several justices of the U.S. Supreme Court struggled with the same question in the *Lau* case, of deciding how many speakers of a language there must be before the school provides a special program for them. As one justice put it, "numbers are at the very heart of this case" (S.F. Chronicle 1974). In fact, numerical criteria have been used to define "major" languages in the U.S. (Ferguson 1966: 321) and the new Philippines constitution uses numerical criteria for determining the languages into which the constitution will be translated (Sibayan, 1973). But 500 people who speak German, yet who have little interaction and no real sense of community, should not have the same claim on the school's resources as 300 speakers of Navajo who interact frequently and who do constitute a community of spirit. Thus, the concept of a community of spirit could be a basis for considering the kind of responsibility the school has: only communities may make claims for programs aimed at maintaining or developing socially-based bilingualism; individuals may only make claims for foreign language programs aimed at developing individual bilingual competencies (e.g., Hungarian in the example above may reasonably expect English teaching that recognizes him/her as a non-native speaker, but unless he/she can show evidence of a local Hungarian "community of spirit," he/she has no basis for demanding a bilingual or bicultural program). In other words, responsibility for maintaining community bilingualism rests with community institutions, both public and private.

The next phase—implementation—in theory simply means carrying out the plan. In practice, it will require members of the "community of spirit" to maintain continuous involvement and monitoring to insure implementation goes according to plan. If the implementation is largely by and through community of spirit members, this task should be much simpler than if it also requires involvement of one or more communities of law. Thus, if in our mythical community, the adopted plan calls for adult literacy programs in Spanish at work sites and child care centers, the organinzing of classes and the teaching could all be conducted by members of the community, whether they are professionally certified or not. And if the feedback phase shows that changes and revisions are necessary, such adjustment will be easier to make if fewer agencies are involved.

To sum up: most language planning conceives the nation as the basic planning unit. In my view, that very choice may have undesirable consequences for minority linguistic communities, especially in a country like the United States where the majority language is so powerful in relation to all other languages. For this reason, I propose using a *community of spirit* as the basic unit for planning. On that basis, I have tried to show how language planning processes might be used to promote the goals of such a community of spirit.

REGIONAL DIALECTS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND ESOL

A Philosophical-Psychological Perspective of Linguistic Variances Found among Spanish-speaking Americans

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INTRODUCTION

Dialectal selectivity and emphasis are among the most significant questions confronting bilingual educators in the United States. Several factors must be analyzed in selecting dialects for bilingual development and as facilitating components in the learning process. Dialectal variances, socio-cultural factors, institutional practices associated with language usage, and psychological variables related to bilingualism and biculturalism must be examined in choosing dialects for bilingual education. The theme of this paper gives particular reference to Spanish language variations and psychological-philosophical factors associated with Spanish-English bilingualism and bilingual education.

With respect to linguistic variances found among contemporary speakers of Spanish, decision-makers must ascertain whether to use the regional dialect or the "standard"[1] dialect in the educational process. In terms of the former, they must consider the question of the regional dialect as a viable medium of communication; and in reference to the latter, they must consider the bilingual advantage of having facility in an internationally recognized dialect.

Would it be advantageous simply to place educational emphasis on the standard dialect and, therefore, allow the regional dialect to diminish in usage and finally disappear? Or would it be desirable to recognize the regional dialect as a viable communication medium and to further its acceptance as one of the contemporary languages in the world?

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF LINGUISTIC CHANGES IN SPANISH

Historically, the tremendous influence of Latin in the formation of various contemporary Romance languages is well established. Yet, in time, both the classical and plebeian Latin versions were replaced by several vernacular styles (Spaulding 1971:33). From among the various Latin-based vernaculars that evolved among the European countries, one was eventually selected for governmental and other institutional purposes in each country. These, then, gained recognition as the standard and national dialects. In Spain, Castilian emerged as the national dialect. While it gained prestige as the language of the schooled person, it did not completely extinguish the use of other dialects; i.e., Catalan, Gallego, and Basque. While Castilian is used on a national basis, especially where it is educationally, economically, politically, and socially advantageous, vernacular styles are still found in family and related socio-cultural activities.

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[1] The "standard" Spanish dialect is herewith defined as the (prescriptive) communication medium principally used for educational and other institutional purposes in the majority of the Spanish-speaking countries.

The abovementioned phenomenon also has occurred in the Americas. Through the centuries, linguistic changes, influenced by several impinging factors, have created language styles unique to groups of people in this hemisphere (Hertzler 1965: 142). American English, Brazilian Portuguese, Canadian French and Latin American Spanish are generally understood by European speakers of the mother languages; however, a number of linguistic features (variations in intonational patterns, pronunciation of phonemes, and colloquial expressions) distinguish the aforementioned languages in the Americas from the European versions.

Linguistic variances also are found among Spanish-speaking groups in the various countries in the Americas. As an example, linguistic variances and commonalities are apparent among Spanish-English bilingual groups in the United States. The largest representative groups of Spanish-English bilingual Americans are the Chicanos, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans. While some distinctive features are apparent in their ancestral and national references, a common Hispanic ancestral base exists, which enables them to carry inter-group communications in Spanish. Specifically, linguistic differences appear in intonation, rhythmic patterns, enunciation of several phonemes, regional expressions, and to a small degree in syntax. Some variations also appear in the Spanish spoken within these three cultural groups. These variations must be analyzed for consideration in bilingual education. Subsequent sections in this essay will show that this problem is not insurmountable; for the standard dialect, coupled with references to regional dialects, can be readily applied in the educational process.

SPANISH LINGUISTIC VARIATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

A comprehensive linguistic study of Spanish usage among Chicanos will reveal several unique features. Among them are archaismos, anglicismos, pachuquismos, and regional intonational styles. The linguistic variations found within the Chicano population depend on geographical location, educational level, income and occupation, proximity to the Mexican border, percentage of Spanish speakers in the region, political ideology and philosophy, and impact and influence of recent Mexican immigration (Valencia 1972: 6). The linguistic variations in this Spanish-speaking group especially appear in degree of proficiency in either or both languages, with some small variations in intonational style and regional expressions.

Anglicismos (Hispanicized English words) generally appear in the Spanish of many Chicano bilinguals throughout the country. Archaismos (16th and 17th century terms) are found with higher frequency among northern New Mexicans. And while the intonational style of Chicano Spanish speakers near the Mexican border tend to resemble that of Mexican speakers across the border, this tends to vary where the influence of the monolingual Mexican speaker is relatively absent. In an educational and socio-cultural perspective, however, intonational and rhythmic variances can be dismissed as relatively insignificant.

Chicano bilinguals, with a language dominance in English, usually reflect residual English linguistic features in their spoken Spanish. For example, the Spanish "ll" sound usually is not given the emphasis that the monolingual Spanish speaker applies; i.e., *caye* for *calle* and *mía* for *milla* (Bowen 1972: 159). Yet, as bilingual Chicanos increase their frequency of communication in Spanish with monolingual speakers of the language, residual English linguistic sounds gradually disappear. This is a characteristic that does not readily occur among Anglo[2] (Spanish-English) bilinguals, who have developed varying degrees of proficiency in Spanish after their childhood years. This lends credence to the hypothesis that native proficiency in a language is directly related to early exposure and development, especially if the sounds are extended by native speakers of the language.

While the agreement of adjectives and articles with their nouns is a trouble-some characteristic of Spanish for monolingual English-speakers, the Chicano bilingual will require minimal development in this linguistic feature. This is based on the fact that all nouns in Spanish are given a masculine or feminine gender. Except for a comparatively few masculine terms ending in "a," Chicano bilinguals, irrespective of formal instruction in Spanish, generally maintain this syntactic agreement in their Spanish communication. And through bilingual education, Chicano bilinguals will learn to correctly identify and classify masculine nouns with an "a" ending. Some of these nouns are: *el problema, el sistema, el telegrama,* and *el tema.*

The following are selected examples of linguistic variations reflecting phonemic substitutions, deletions, additions, and transpositions, especially found among northern New Mexico Spanish speakers (Dominguez 1974: 17-71).

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[2] The term "Anglo" is used in this paper with reference to general cultural characteristics, which have evolved in the United States, having their origin with the English colonists and incorporating political, economic, social practices and values that have influenced the daily lives of the majority of the American English-speaking population.

Standard Spanish	*Northern New Mexico Spanish*
aunque	aunque, unque
aire	aigre
Eugenio	Ugenio
individuo	individo
paciencia	pacencia
hueso	gueso
maestro	mestro
peor	pior
soldado	soldao
verdad	verdá
abuela	ahuela, agüela
humo	jumo
cuchillo	cuchío
entonces	antonces
así	asina
el agua	l'agua
los pies	los pieses
ellas	eas
somos	semos
hablaste	hablates
ví	vide
entrega	entriega
aprieta	apreta
periódico	papel

Although the abovementioned variations reflect phonetic substitutions, additions, transpositions, or deletions, all contain Spanish phonetic elements. Some of the variations are unique to New Mexico, while others also are found among Spanish speakers in other parts of the world; i.e., *soldao* for *soldado, pa* for *para, l'agua* for *el agua,* and *vide* for *vi.*

Two common types of linguistic variations found among Chicano bilinguals in different parts of the country are anglicismos and pachuquismos.[3] The following are selected examples of these two types of linguistic variations (Valencia 1972: 11-14):

Standard Spanish	*Anglicismos*	*English Translation*
estacionar	parquiar	to park
escribir a máquina	taipiar	to type
regia	rula	ruler

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[3] Some pachuquismo expressions also can be classified as anglicismos. In this paper, all of the words, with a blending of Hispanic and English phonetic elements, are classified under anglicismos rather than the former.

Standard Spanish	*Anglicismos*	*English Translation*
teléfono	telefón	telephone
bomba	pompa	pump
freno	breca	brake
cuenta	bil	bill
cuadro	bloque	block

Standard Spanish	*Pachuquismo*	*English Translation*
muchacho, hombre	bato	fellow
baile	borlo	dance
zapatos	calcos	shoes
commandante	capriuche	commander
hermano	carnal	brother

While all of the foregoing variations may be found in usage among Chicano bilinguals, there is little or no alteration in syntax in Southwestern Spanish as compared to "standard" Spanish. Virtually all of the grammatical rules are observed in the application of archaismos, anglicismos, pachuquismos, and other phonetic variations. The following illustrates consistency in syntax with variations in phonetic elements:

Anglicismo	*Standard Spanish*
pushé	empujé
pushaste (pushates—northern New Mexico)	empujaste
pushó	empujó
pushamos	empujamos
pusharon	empujaron

Archaismo	*Standard Spanish*
truje	traje
trujiste (trujites—northern New Mexico)	trajiste
trujo	trajo
trujimos	trajimos
trujeron (trujieron—northern New Mexico)	trajeron

The following example also shows grammatical consistency with the standard dialect, using the anglicismo *parquiar* (translated "to park"):

Yo parquié el carro.
Tu parquiaste el carro.
El/Ella parquió el carro.

Nosotros parquiamos el carro.
Ustedes parquiaron el carro.

It is noted that by substituting the equivalent and prescriptive Spanish word (*estacionar*, etc.) in each of the statements, a clear and complete representation of the standard version is reflected.

Chicano bilinguals normally will present the clear-cut and explosive sounds of Spanish vowels, while the monolingual English-speaking learner will tend to glide the pronunciation of the same vowels; i.e., "o" as it appears in *home* and "a" as it appears in *late* (MacRae 1957: 18). For this reason, Chicano bilinguals, with this linguistic proficiency, need not be extended the same type of Spanish oral language development activities given to monolingual English-speakers. The foregoing illustrations reveal that, apart from some variations in phonetic elements and a few masculine terms ending with "a," the syntatic component of Spanish found among Chicano bilinguals generally has been accurately transmitted by parents, older siblings, relatives and other Spanish speaking persons in the community. This grammatical proficiency can be readily applied in furthering the Spanish communication ability of Chicano bilinguals.

The proposition that no language or dialect is superior to another is well documented (Deese 1971: 77). Changes occur in all languages over an undetermined period of time. In many instances, linguistic changes tend to increase the appropriateness of a language in relationship to a population group in a particular geographical region. In other instances, linguistic changes, as compared to equivalent elements maintained in the standard dialect, increase the facility of oral communication (Bowen 1972: 158). It is conceivable that, at some point in time, these types of changes may be considered for incorporation in the standard dialect. For many Spanish speakers in the Southwestern states, *tratates, pader, usté,* and *cansado* may seem easier to articulate as compared to *trataste, pared, usted,* and *cansado.* And for many Chicano bilinguals, it may be simpler and more efficient to say: *Quiero taipiar* (to type) *este papel* as compared to *Quiero escribir este papel a máquina.*

Archaismos and Spanish phonetic substitutions, deletions, or transposition do not significantly alter the standard Spanish sounds to make them incomprehensible to persons accustomed to hearing the "standard" dialect. And some anglicismos, which contain a blending of Spanish and English sounds, also are comprehensible to Spanish speakers, who have some understanding in English.

There also exists a list of words in standard Spanish which derived from modern English—in most instances from American English; i.e., *futbol, beisbol, radio,* and *aeroplano.* It is not surprising to find that many of these words were in common usage by Chicano bilinguals before they were adopted by speakers of the standard dialect in the Latin American countries and Spain. Other words, such as *telefón* for *teléfono*, *airport* for *aeropuerto*, *televisión* for *televisor*, while usually expressed in English and accentuated in Spanish by Southwestern bilinguals, are sufficiently close to the Spanish equivalents and, therefore, comprehensible to monolingual Spanish speakers.

Spanish words found in American English usually are pronounced either in Spanish or English by Southwestern bilinguals. This variation depends on whether the communication is in English or Spanish. The Spanish pronunciation usually appears in their Spanish or bilingual communications with other bilinguals. This Spanish vocabulary list includes words such as *adobe, arroyo, bronco, chaparral, hondo, mesa, mesquite, rodeo, Amarillo, Los Angeles, Santa Fe, San Francisco, and Trinidad.* These words, whether presented with a Spanish or English phonetic base, generally are comprehensible to both Spanish and English monolingual speakers.

Pachuquismo expressions may or may not be understood by speakers of standard Spanish. While many words are fundamentally Spanish in origin, the pachuquismo meaning may be quite different from the standard definition. And with the inclusion of anglicismos, a dialogue in pachuquismo may be relatively incomprehensible to speakers of the standard dialect. While they may get the gist of the conversation, some misinterpretations are expected. The following is a brief example of a dialogue in pachuquismo:

> Ese bato! La semana pasada me conseguí un *jale*. Como estoy afuera del *chante* de mis *jefitos*, tengo que ganar algo de *jando* para pagar por la renta de mi *chante* y el *tacuche* que me compre.

All of the underscored expressions are translated as follows:

Pachuquismo	*Standard Spanish*	*English Translation*
Ese Bato!	Oiga, Amigo	Hey, Friend! Hey, Guy!
jale	trabajo	job
chante	casa, habitación	house, apartment
jefitos	padres	parents
jando	dinero	money
tacuche	vestido, traje	suit

Pachuquismos are perceived by the user as transformations of formal Spanish into a modernistic and informal linguistic style. In an analytical sense, English "hip" expressions are found in informal situations and aesthetically oriented media, while pachuquismo expressions are found in similar situations among some Southwestern bilingual speakers and related literature.

Shifting from one language to the other, which is a natural and unconscious occurrence between many Spanish-English bilinguals in the Southwest, can be confusing to both Spanish and English monolingual speakers. This especially is apparent where frequent shifting of phrases occurs. The following illustrates this type of bilingual characteristic:

> Mi carnal has been en el army cerca de cuatro años. He will be staying en mi casa for about a month hasta que se consiga some kind of training en algun colegio.

The Spanish-English bilingual has no difficulty in comprehending the foregoing. On the other hand, the Spanish monolingual must acquire proficiency in English, while the English monolingual must gain knowledge in Spanish to comprehend this type of communication mode.

The ability of Spanish-English bilinguals to separate both languages is dependent on their repertoire of words in both languages and a desire to practice it. Many Chicano bilinguals can, where necessary, maintain an informal conversational style in either language. On the other hand, their Spanish vocabulary may not be as extensive for technological and other educational references as compared to English. This observation has important implications in designing an appropriate bilingual education curriculum for Chicano bilingual students.

As Chicano bilingual students increase their vocabulary references in Spanish and English, activities can be provided to extend opportunities for them to express their thoughts completely in either language. And while oral language development in Spanish should be included for Spanish-English bilingual students, it must be given at a more advanced level as compared to lessons provided for English monolingual students. Bilingual education teachers will find that reading and writing development in Spanish also can be extended earlier for Spanish-English bilinguals as compared to English monolinguals.

What effect do the foregoing activities have on the language the student brings to school? Several factors will influence the degree of permanence in the transformation from the home language to the standard dialect. Among them will be the extent to which the home language has been internalized by the student, the frequency of opportunities for the student to use the home language, recognition of the home language as one of the viable communication modes in the school setting, and the student's age relative to exposure and development in the standard dialect. Where the first three factors exist, it is conceivable that the student will develop and maintain facility in two related communications modes—the home dialect and the standard dialect. Yet, for an unpredictable period of time, the student unconsciously will continue to use versions of the home dialect in communicating with speakers of the standard dialect (Cardenas 1972: 174). The words most likely to appear in this period of time will contain very small phonemic variations (e.g., *nadien* for *nadie, clas* for *clase, dicir* for *decir, eos* for *ellos, cencia* for *ciencia,* and *individo* for *individuo.* Teacher interruption of spontaneous interaction between two or more persons for the purpose of shaping sounds in terms of a prescriptive style is psychologically unsound. The abovementioned phonemic variances are insignificantly minor; therefore, the bilingual education teacher need not be overly concerned in affecting immediate transformation. For this reason, it is desirable to allow these changes to gradually occur through reading, writing and other prescribed activities.

One of the current contentions for using the regional dialect for instructional purposes in bilingual education relates to the psychological premise of furthering the positive self-image and cultural identity of bilingual and non-English speaking students (Del Curriculum Bilingue-Bicultural 1974: ii). Another assertion for incorporating the regional dialect in the educational process relates to the notion of maintaining linguistic features that are considered significant and noteworthy variances from the standard dialect. This does not imply that the standard dialect should be excluded from developmental processes in bilingual education; however, it lends support to the proposition that linguistic proficiency in both dialects provides the bilingual speaker with an extraordinary advantage in communicating with people in the region and community, as well as with Spanish speakers in other parts of the world.

Bilingual education teachers can enhance the motivation of students by encouraging them to use the language and other cultural references from their home and community. They also can be provided with opportunities to explore phenomena beyond their own perceptual world. In this frame of reference, the standard dialect is not imposed on them as the singular and correct communication medium—it is presented as an alternative communication mode to be used advantageously in contemporary or future life experiences.

BILINGUAL-BICULTURAL VARIANCES AND RELATED PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS

Bilingual proficiency is a variable found among Latinos[4] in the United States. This also is true of biculturalism.[5] The psychological effects experienced by a bilingual person are, of course, dependent on a multiplicity of factors exhibited by members of both cultural groups. Language is a significant characteristic of a culture. Yet, facility in a second language does not necessarily transform a person into a bicultural type, for there are other cultural attributes that a person must acquire and practice. (Cardenas 1972: 174-175). On the other hand, ability to communicate in the language of the other culture facilitates the acquisition of other cultural attributes. While native cultural practices are found, in varying degrees of reference, among monolingual English-speaking Latinos in the United States, greater reference to these characteristics are detectable among Latino bilinguals. It also is conceivable that monolingual English-speaking Latinos will readily acquire other native cultural practices as they gain proficiency in using the ancestral language. This can be hypothesized in terms of two variables. First, because of the large number of bilingual Latinos in the United States, they undoubtedly will encounter numerous opportunities to apply the ancestral language and other cultural references. Second, it also is the case that some residues of the native culture continue to appear among Latino monolingual English-speakers operating in the milieu of the other culture; these provide a reference base for developing other native cultural attributes. For example, due to relationships with bilingual speakers from the native cultural group, intonational patterns of the ancestral language are acquired and occur in the monolingual English speech of many Latinos. This linguistic feature is useful in developing the ancestral language of monolingual English-speaking Latinos.

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[4] In this paper, the term "Latino" refers to all of the Spanish-English bilingual groups in the United States whose ancestral language is Spanish. This includes Chicanos, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, etc.

[5] "Biculturalism" may be defined as the ability of a person to shift and operate with relative ease and comfort in two or more given cultures.

The educational decision to promote and include bilingual-bicultural references in the school poses another socio-cultural question. Will bilingual-bicultural activities accentuate the reflection of foreign elements in the total behavioral patterns of children? Should a bilingual-bicultural education program guarantee that children will be able to clearly exhibit the patterns of the other culture, with little or no trace of elements from the ancestral culture? The objective must be that of developing receptive attitudes toward variations in bicultural behavior. This proposition merits consideration, for bilingual-bicultural experiences will not, in the long run, occur in a perfectly balanced dimension. Depending on individual life situations, the bilingual may find it necessary to use one of the two languages with great frequency. With life experiences occurring to a greater extent in one of the two sets of cultural references, residual cultural features, particularly of a linguistic nature, will be found when the bilingual person shifts and operates in terms of the other culture. And depending on particular life situations, they will occur in the native culture and/or in the second culture. It must therefore be envisioned that while bilingual-bicultural education is designed to enhance a person's ability to operate bilingually, it also is intended to develop a person's recognition and acceptance for variations in bilingual and bicultural behavior.

"Spanglish": A Case of Languages in Contact[1]

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There are virtually no studies that define the parameters of "Spanglish," a so-called dialect that is generally described as a particular mixture of Spanish and English and which is presumably used by Spanish-speaking communities in the United States. In recent years the use of "Spanglish" has become a major controversial issue in education at all levels—from the primary grades through college. There is a widespread negative attitude towards its use, which creates feelings of inferiority and alienation for those who allegedly use it. Speakers of a non-defined mixture of Spanish and English are judged as "deficient" or "sloppy" speakers of Spanish and/or English, and are often labelled "verbally deprived," "alingual" or "deficient bilinguals" because supposedly, they do not have the ability to speak either Spanish or English well.

Much of the controversy over Spanglish arises out of the lack of understanding of the nature of this process. No research studies have described the linguistic features that define Spanglish: is it merely a matter of incorporating English words into Spanish, or is it also the borrowing of phonological and grammatical structures from English? Given an adequate description of Spanglish, one can ask: do users of Spanglish speak only Spanglish, or do they also speak English or Spanish in other situations? Is Spanglish used by all generations of Spanish-speaking immigrants in the U. S., and if it is, are there qualitative differences among generations?

Despite the lack of systematic data required to answer the above questions and to put Spanglish in its proper sociolinguistic perspective, undocumented statements emphasizing the negative values placed on Spanglish—and therefore on its speakers—are often made. One of the strongest statements has been made by Carlos Varo (1971: 109).

> El "Spanglish" es . . . una enfermedad crónica, como puede serlo el sentimiento de dependecia y la frustración que busca un escape por la droga, el alcohol o la violencia física o sexual.[2]

In this paper we would like to take the first step towards a general description of Spanglish, consider some of its sociological and educational implications, and provide insight into a language issue which

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[1] This is a revised and updated version of the article "On the Nature of Spanglish," *The Rican: Journal of Contemporary Puerto Rican Thought 2*, 2, 7–13.

[2] "Spanglish" . . . is a chronic illness just like the feelings of dependency and frustration which seek escape by means of drugs, alcohol or physical or sexual violence." (Author's translation)

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does not pertain exclusively to Puerto Ricans or other Spanish-speaking groups in the U. S., but which arises every time groups speaking different languages come into contact.

The various groups of immigrants who came to the U. S. for the first time were compelled by sheer necessity to acquire some knowledge of the English language in order to function in their new environment. The establishment of ethnic communities within this country created a situation of cultural contact and hence of language contact. As part of the adaptation to the new setting the immigrant began to undergo a process of deculturation (loss of his/her own culture), and of acculteration (adoption of the dominant culture of the society).

It is well known that the ethnocentric foundations of American society have always encouraged the "melting pot" ideology. Making the immigrant conform to the standard cultural values of the society has been "the most prevalent ideology of assimilation in America throughout the nation's history" (Gordon 1964: 89). Immigrants have perceived the adoption of the dominant society's cultural and linguistic behaviors as a ladder to social mobility, which also brought the accompanying loss of important aspects of their native cultures. In many instances, linguistic acculturation, in this case mastery of English to the detriment of the native language, became a major part of the immigrant's accommodation to a new and different way of life.

Researchers have examined the linguistic process of language contact by studying the language behavior of immigrant groups in the U. S. Among them, Einar Haugen (1969), in his study *The Norwegian Language in America,* describes how the Norwegian immigrant created an instrument of communication which expressed the new aspects of American society in all those fields in which the Norweigan participated. Haugen also documents the influence on the Norwegian language of the social pressures the immigrant felt—Norwegians were ashamed to display their native speech in front of "Yankees." Thus, as Norwegians learned English words, these were incorporated into their native language replacing Norwegian words, and in other instances new words were created in spite of having adequate Norwegian equivalents. Haugen illustrates this when he colorfully describes the coming of the Norwegian to America:

> In order to 'maeka ei levving' they had to scratch about for a 'jabb' which often meant that they had to join a 'kru' (crew) of some kind and work under a 'bas' . . . Many Norwegians found work in the 'lomberkemper' which were located in the 'peinri' (pineries) . . . As soon as they could, they acquired a 'farm' which it never occurred to them to call 'gard' as they had done in Norway. With the word came all its derivatives 'farma' (to farm), 'farmar' and 'farming'. If they could not afford to buy a farm they might 'renta' and live as 'rentarar' (renters), which entirely replaced the Norwegian 'leiga' and 'leilending'. (76–77)

These examples illustrate the linguistic mechanisms generally used in the "Americanization" of immigrant languages. That is, the grammatical rules of the native language are applied to "borrowed" English words. From his research Uriel Weinreich (1968) reaches a similar conclusion: "the vocabulary of a language . . . is beyond question the domain of borrowing par excellence" (56). In summary, "it is the language of the learner that is influenced, not the language he learns. English is hardly influenced at all by the immigrant languages, but these are all influenced by English" (Haugen 1969: 370). Table 1 clearly illustrates this phenomenon for Norwegian, Dutch, Polish, Finnish, Italian, and Spanish.
All of these immigrant groups (as well as many others) "made up" their own words by incorporating English words into the phonological and morphological systems of their respective languages.

The dynamics involved in the contact of two language groups suggest in a general sense that the language of any given group of immigrants within the American society is going to be affected or influenced by English; that is, in this specific social context, the language of the minority will be affected by the language of the majority.

Further evidence of this process is provided by one of the most recent immigrant groups to the United States, the Puerto Ricans. When the first generation of Puerto Rican immigrants came to the U. S., their native Spanish came into contact with English. As part of the process of adaptation to the new environment, there were objects, functions, and new experiences that could not be expressed in the immigrant's language or that were better expressed in English. As new cultural patterns had to be learned, consequently, a linguistic means for expressing new objects and new ways had to be found. Spanish-speakers began to borrow certain lexical items from English

TABLE 1

English	Norwegian-American	English	American-Dutch
anyway	eunivei	trouble	troebel
fixes	fiksar	to move	moeven
factory	fektri	stores	storen
makes	mekar	to drive	drivuen
English	**American-Polish**	**English**	**Finglish**
truck	trok	store	stoori
street car	strytkara	teacher	titseri
job	dziab	baby	peipi
payday	pedja	to clear	kliinaan
English	**Italo-American**	**English**	**Spanglish**
furniture	fornitura	furniture	furnitura
nurse	nursa	nurse	norsa
to fix	fixare	to fix	fixear
trouble	trobolo	trouble	trobol

and to incorporate them into their own speech by applying Spanish phonological and morphological rules to them. This is how words and phrases like: "la factoría" (the factory), "la grocería" (the grocery store), "el rufo" (the roof), "la jira" (the heater), "rapear" (to rap), "vacunear la carpeta" (to vacuum the carpet), and many others came into existence.

As was the case for Norwegians in the U. S., the Puerto Ricans also felt social pressures to speak English: speaking English was a sign of mobility. Thus, in many cases, newly learned English words began to replace Spanish words in everyday speech. Little by little, new words were formed which created an atrophy of forms or words in the native tongue that were no longer needed or used. As a result, words that were previously expressed in Spanish are now often expressed in "Spanglish." Other examples of this process are: "lonche" (lunch), "lonchar" (to lunch), "furnir" (to furnish), "furnitura" (furniture), "guachear" (to watch), "guachiman" (watchman), etc. Spanglish, therefore, reflects a linguistic adaptation of immigrants to the new environment, produced by the social pressures felt towards learning the English language. Salvador Tió (1954), a well known Puerto Rican writer, tells a humorous story in one of his essays, which illustrates our previous points, about an old Puerto Rican woman who would say the rosary at the wake every time someone in the community died. In Puerto Rico the litany went: 'que Dios lo saque de penas y lo lleve a descansar." (May God grant him eternal rest.) After she had moved to "El Barrio" in New York the prayer underwent some changes and ended up as "que Dios lo saque de 'trobol' y lo lleve a un sitio 'naiz' " (245).

Although the issue of Spanglish might look superficially similar to the imposition and influence of English on the Spanish spoken in Puerto Rico, the situation of the Puerto Ricans in the U. S. is qualitatively different. The linguistic process that we have described has taken place with *all* immigrant groups that have come to America in spite of the fact that the situation in their mother countries was completely different from that of the Puerto Ricans. Ricardo Cornejo (1973) mentions a process undergone by Mexican-American children in the Southwest that is similar to the one we have described; therefore, no direct relationship can necessarily be drawn between the influence of English on the Spanish spoken in Puerto Rico and the issue of "Spanglish" in the U. S.

The children of first generation immigrants tend to be dominant in the language of the dominant society, in this case English. Since children born in the U. S. of Puerto Rican parents no longer have the same opportunity to learn Spanish (although bilingual education is beginning to change this situation), their vocabulary is less extensive and they learn the words that the previous generation borrowed or adapted from English, sometimes without knowing that they are not Spanish words. They also continue to borrow lexical items from their dominant language and incorporate them into Spanish when attempting to speak it. These children would not recognize many words as English, for they have been adopted and given a form which do not markedly distinguish them from Spanish words. After years of using such borrowed words, they are often perceived as part of the Spanish lexical stock by Puerto Ricans who were born or raised in the U. S.

To study the pervasiveness of the use of Spanglish one may ask several related questions: Given a Spanglish word, is it perceived as acceptable Spanish? Does the speaker use it himself? If the word is not acceptable Spanish, does the speaker know the "correct" Spanish equivalent? These questions were the focus of a pilot study conducted this past year with twenty Puerto Rican college students at the State University of New York at Albany, most of whom considered themselves bilingual in English and Spanish.

Each student was given a list of 50 Spanglish vocabulary words commonly used in his/her community.' After each word, the students were asked to indicate whether they knew the "proper" Spanish word, if there was one. The data collected indicated that 67% of the Spanglish words were considered acceptabe Spanish by the students and 72% of the words were commonly used by them. Students were able to provide only 35% of the "correct" Spanish equivalents. In other words, in most cases the students reported that the "Spanglish" words they often use are considered by them as acceptable Spanish.

The results of this pilot study suggest either of two possibilities: that children of first generation Puerto Rican parents are slowly but surely losing command of their Spanish as it is spoken in Puerto Rico; or, they never acquired it in the first place, and instead they acquired the language spoken in their own community which includes a great number of Spanglish words or phrases. It is an unchangeable reality that Spanglish words are constantly used and created within the Spanish-speaking communities, and as it has been shown, this is a process of languages in contact that cannot be eliminated. This of course in no way implies that Puerto Ricans in the U. S. are incapable of speaking the so called "standard" Spanish.

Often confused with the borrowing of English lexical items into the Spanish language, is another pervasive linguistic process common to bilinguals; namely, the switching from one language to another during a conversation. This process, known as code-switching, has been erroneously labelled Spanglish. Numerous research studies have shown that bilinguals tend to switch from one language to the other depending on the situation. A bilingual does *not* switch when the other speaker is monolingual, but only when both are bilinguals (Haugen, 1969). Thus, switching is an option available to bilinguals, and is not a "deficiency" as commonly claimed. Gumperz and Hernandez (1971) have pointed out that "in spite of the fact that (such) extreme code switching is held in disrepute, it is persistant wherever minority language groups come in close contact with majority language groups under conditions of rapid social change" (316). They also explain how this alternation between the two language systems carries meaning and "serves definite and clearly understandable communicative ends" (327).

These observations about the nature of "Spanglish" suggest a more rigorous linguistic study to determine the extent of the influence of English in different Spanish-speaking communities in the U. S., and the directions that Spanglish is taking. Up to the present, nothing we have observed contradicts the thesis that so far, Spanglish has basically maintained its Spanish structure. Expressions like "está en el beisman," (he is in the basement), "el rufo esta liqueando" (the roof is leaking), "tengo un apartamento furnido," (I have a furnished apartment), "hay que vacunear la carpeta" (the carpet has to be vacuumed) illustrate that Spanish syntactic structures will prevail.

Like any other group of immigrants that came to America, the Puerto Ricans tried to follow the path leading to the "melting pot." Those groups that were considered "white" in terms of this society's racial definitions were successful. Those who were considered "nonwhite" discovered that in spite of their efforts to "Americanize," they were rejected and stigmatized (Seda Bonilla 1971). This attitude created in them feelings of inferiority, identity crisis, and even shame at displaying their native culture and language to members of the dominant society. They soon discovered that acceptance into American society was not after all guaranteed by Anglo-conformity, that is, by the adoption of the American culture and the English language. They were still considered inferior and pushed into a position of marginality within this society. Naturally, this has resulted in the internalization of a negative self-image.

Cultural pluralism, the preservation of the culture and of immigrant groups within the U. S., has become a goal, for many, for alleviating the deplorable condition of racially differentiated minorities. Ethnic Studies and Bilingual Education programs have become the instruments for change: they are designed to help minority group members function positively within the society by making them aware of their own cultural values and assets.

Even within these programs, however, Spanglish continues to be a delicate issue. Many educators and other observers frequently show amusement or indignation when they hear Spanglish being used. Even those who use it are very defensive about the issue when it is brought to their attention. Spanglish is perceived to be a corruption of the Spanish language or even worse, to be an expression of scorn or rejection on the part of the immigrant towards his mother tongue. Such indignation stems largely from the application of rigid and somewhat antiquated standards of linguistic purity. There is also a failure to understand that speech mixture among immigrant groups is something universal that has occurred whenever language groups come into contact.

The issue of Spanglish, however, does entail serious complications and therefore is a subject that should be discussed, since most teachers in bilingual education programs will have, at some point, to make decisions about how to deal with it in the classroom. First of all, it creates a barrier between Puerto Ricans who were born in the U. S. and those in Puerto Rico. Language is a factor that divides both groups. After all, the language of the Puerto Ricans is Spanish, and to accept anything else could be detrimental to Puerto Rican culture. Historically, the first generation of Puerto Ricans that came to the U. S. spoke Spanish with all regional differences characteristic of Puerto Rican Spanish. Their children, however, who are born or raised in the U. S. usually speak English as their native language. Thus, when these children later go to Puerto Rico they feel like outsiders because they do not speak Spanish like a native. On other occasions, when they try to speak Spanish, they may feel ashamed because they are constantly told by Latin Americans and even Anglos who know Spanish that their Spanish is not "correct."

As if this were not enough, Spanglish has been used by the dominant society to support the idea that minorities are "linguistically deficient" and/or "verbally deprived." From both sides, then, there is a rejection of the immigrant's language. Obviously this has a serious impact on the individuals self-concept.

In 1970, when the New School of Social Research offered a course in Spanglish, supposedly to help American professionals understand the "jargon" of the Puerto Ricans, the School was in fact reinforcing the stereotype of a Puerto Rican dialect which is different from and inferior to the so called "standard" Spanish. At the same time, they were also reinforcing the negative image of the immigrant who cannot speak either English or Spanish well. These educators failed to understand both the nature of Spanglish and the fact that even those who use Spanglish in certain situations may be dominant in either Spanish or English, depending on which generation of immigrants they belong to.

It follows from this discussion that certain educational decisions must be made—bilingual education programs have become a national priority. To accomplish the major objective of bilingual education programs—which is to start "where the child is" and also to make the children feel free to express themselves in the language they know—an understanding of the nature of Spanglish as well as other nonstandard dialects is essential for both teachers and educators in general. This does not mean that the child should not be given the opportunity to know all the available options, like learning the so-called "standard" Spanish. After all, these children will also have to function in other social contexts outside of their own community, so they should be provided with the opportunity to also learn the kind of language that will help them communicate effectively in other environments.

Teachers must be aware that criticizing children because they do not "know how to talk" brings only feelings of inferiority that may cause irreparable damage to the child's self-esteem. Therefore, the teacher should be prepared to clearly understand language differences in order to establish more productive communication with the child.

Dialect in the TESOL Program: If You Never You Better

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The language situation on the island of Hawaii is rather complex. Most of the local children speak a variety of what can be called Hawaii Creole English (HCE).[1] As in all dialect situations in stable communities the degree of variation from the prestige dialect is more than coincidentally related to social factors. On Hawaii, family income and geographical location are fairly accurate indicators of the distance of local children's dialects from Standard English (SE). Since most of the immigrant children settle into the outlying plantation communities rather than the middle class neighborhoods around Hilo, the population and commercial center of the island, their classmates and playmates are almost always HCE speakers. There is no question that the first dialect of English these young immigrant children learn is the dialect of their peers, and that they learn it from their peers. If they learn productive control of the dialect of their teachers it is not until later—although they do learn to understand that dialect very early.

The Hawaii District TESOL program makes no attempt to teach a standard English dialect to immigrant students. The tutors seldom use HCE themselves, but they accept its use by their students without comment. We gauge the success of our program on the ability of the immigrant children to communicate and verbally interact with their peers and on their ability to understand the language of the teachers—not on their ability to produce SE.

I assume that the fact that "Standard English as a Second Dialect" is one of the seven official Special Interest Groups in TESOL, the largest professional organization for teachers of English to non-native speakers, is an indication of the profession's general attitude toward dialects in the classroom. One of the basic assumptions in the profession seems to be that only standard dialects should be taught. This belief has been stated very clearly and explicitly by Kenneth Jackson in Hawaii Council of Teachers of English paper #24 dated May, 1974: "As can be seen, TESOL in a broad sense is concerned with teaching a standard English dialect in a number of types of programs which differ according to such variables as student population, motivation, teaching methods, and administrative personnel," and later, "Like the teachers of other modern languages, the TESOL teacher is primarily concerned with the development in his students of a basic knowledge of a standard English dialect and culture."

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[1] There is considerable controversy over whether distinguishable varieties exist or whether there is in fact a more or less indivisible continuum. See Cickerton (1973), Day (1972), Tsuzaki (1971).

This paper is meant to challenge such assumptions and beliefs by presenting some findings from studies conducted in Hawaii and elsewhere and by examining data from HCE to discover possible implications for a policy of dialect use.

In the Fall of 1973 and the Spring of 1974 a team from the University of Chicago, headed by Dr. Carol Feldman, spent six weeks testing 68 students at the High School in one of the most isolated plantation communities on the island of Hawaii. Their stated goal was to investigate which cognitive factors were involved in the generally poor scholastic performance of HCE speakers in Hawaii schools. One of their preliminary findings was that control of HCE was not associated with academic success or failure. On the basis of their test data there seemed to be no cognitive implications due to HCE dominance. The cognitive implications which could be drawn from linguistic ability were due to general ability across dialects rather than to specific control of either SE or HCE. The degree of control that students had in HCE did not affect their ability to control SE. A high degree of control of either dialect, rather than of SE particularly, was reflected in higher "scores" in cognitive testing.

The importance of the second language learner's attitudes toward the culture, speakers, and language he/she is expected or expecting to learn has been pointed out in numerous studies, perhaps the best known of which are those of Lambert and his colleagues (1972). Commenting on a study conducted in Hawaii, Hale, Gibson and Plaister (1972) stated that "there is a direct relationship between an immigrant student's degree of adjustment to our culture and the degree of proficiency he achieves in his use of the English language." An earlier study conducted in Hawaii by Hale and Budar (1970) had reached a similar conclusion: "unless the immigrant student makes a commitment to join this new culture in which he now lives, he will never attain a very high degree of proficiency in his use of the English language." Although none of these reports addressed themselves directly to the question of whether a non-standard peer dialect or a prestige dialect should be the target dialect, the implications of all of them seem quite straightforward. The target dialect should be the peer dialect. (In some of Hawaii's schools, including at least one on the Big Island the peer dialect is SE so the question doesn't arise.)

Except in extraordinary circumstances the immigrant students' most intimate and sustained contacts will be with their peers. The culture which they will or will not adjust to and which they will or will not make a commitment to is the culture of their peers. One normally cannot be an active participant in a culture without control of its language. In this case, one cannot be a part of a subculture without controlling its dialect.

Assuming that it was possible for the TESOL program on Hawaii to produce SE speakers, the result would be the production of cultural aberrations—children who spoke the dialect of a highly educated adult subculture while they were expected to assimilate into a peer subculture of which HCE was an integral, and even identifying, component. The local children would be inclined from the beginning to reject a stranger and a foreigner who did not attempt to speak their dialect.[3]

Sooner or later the immigrant children would realize that the language they were being taught in ESL classes was identifiably different from the language of their local friends. At that point the immigrant children would have two choices. They could accept SE as the desired norm—thus rejecting an important component of the subculture of their peers. They could accept HCE as the norm—thus essentially rejecting the ESL classes as merely another artifact of the school system with little relationship to the reality of their lives. To say there are only two choices is an oversimplification of course. They could also attempt to reject both or attempt to accept both or attempt to process the two dialects as one. The first alternative would result, theoretically, in not speaking English at all; the second and third alternatives will be discussed below.

In a paper first presented at the 1972 TESOL Conference we reported on the acquisition of negation in the course of a year by a Japanese boy (K) who had had no formal instruction in English as a second language (Milon 1974). In a subsequent paper we compared his control of negation, tense, and the copula in English with that of a native HCE speaking peer (O) at intervals of one and two years after the study began (Milon 1975). Whereas within a year K's competence in these three subsystems was quite similar to O's, by the end of the second year K's dialect was much closer to SE than to HCE. The reason is very simple. He moved from a predominately low income, welfare dominated neighborhood and school where the peer dialect was HCE to a middle class neighborhood and school where the peer dialect was SE.

His development of an existential *there* construction is an example of the shift from non-control of English through an HCE equivalent, to an SE form. The data show that by the end of the first year K's existential constructions were similar to O's. At first he used either *got*, as in *over here got one* (There's one over here); or simply left out *there is*, as in *no more room*. Then he began to use *have* or *get* with or without a form of *BE*, as in *way down was get the, uh, pond* and *back of that have the, ah, zoo*. A year later, two years after he arrived, he was using the SE construction in its full form, as in *There's too much wind coming back and forth.*

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[3] At the secondary level, acquiring some degree of control of HCE is often identified by both local students and recent arrivals from the U.S. mainland as an important factor in the social acceptance of the latter.

These data are evidence for two things:

a—Initial control of HCE will not prevent subsequent development of SE.

b—The peer group and social factors will determine the development of language acquisition, not ESL or other subject matter teachers.

The data also suggest an interesting possibility. It is generally accepted that the processes of pidginization and creolization result in languages/dialects which are in some meaningful way simplifications of the component systems or of "universal" features of language. This is not equivalent to saying that the resulting pidgins or creoles are not complicated or that they are the result of maintaining the simplest rules and ignoring the others. (See Hymes 1971, especially the papers by Ferguson and Samarin.)

The human mind is enormously successful at acquiring control over complex systems of rules called languages. I see no reason for immediately rejecting the notion that perhaps the human mind is at an advantage in this process in the case of second language learning, when the initial glut of linguistic data is the end product of processes of pidginization or creolization. Perhaps it is more efficient for the mind to develop a system of rules of the Xth degree of complexity and then to expand it to the Xth+Y degree of complexity than it is to develop the more complex system directly without an intermediate stage. A great deal of insight into this area could probably be gained by examining processes of pidginization and creolization in conjunction with the kinds of distinctions Burt and Kiparsky (1972, also Burt 1975) have drawn between "global" and "local" errors.

There are both social and linguistic reasons why it is highly unlikely that a second language learner could acquire control of two dialects of a new language simultaneously and use them appropriately. Commitment to a language entails commitment to a culture—regardless of the order involved. In a multidialectal community like Hawaii, commitment to a dialect involves commitment to a subculture.

As they begin acquiring English, newly arrived immigrant children are almost certainly unable to make meaningful distinctions, in either the subjective or objective domains, among different subcultures. It requires a certain amount of time and experience for them to recognize that different subcultures are actually involved. Thus at some point acculturation must cease to be an attempt to integrate all information and experience into a rational whole. Consciously or unsconsciously it must eventually become a process of sorting out information and experiences into two or more subsets and then integrating the components of each subset separately.

The problems of processing information and then integrating it are similar on the linguistic level and are easier to demonstrate. In *Irregularity in Syntax*, George Lakoff (1970) talks about the "preconceptions" which an adult (and certainly a child as well) learning a new language brings to bear on that process:

> Although the sentences of the language will be unfamiliar to him, he can expect that they will be related to things that are quite familiar to him, namely, meanings. He knows in advance that he will be called upon to produce and recognize sequences of individual sounds . . . and he will be expected to relate these sound sequences to meanings . . . he will be called upon to learn individual lexical items, that is, to pair isolated meanings with instructions as to how to pronounce the sequences of sounds that represent them. He can count on being able to form simple sentences from individual items by placing them one after another in some order. (Lakoff 1970: 1)

In *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, Noam Chomsky (1965) says the following about native language acquisition by children—all of which is relevant to second language acquisition as well:

> Clearly, a child who has learned a language has developed an internal representation of a system of rules that determine how sentences are to be formed, used, and understood . . . He has done this on the basis of observation of what we may call *primary linguistic data* . . . Consider first the nature of primary linguistic data. This consists of a finite amount of information about sentences, which, furthermore, must be rather restricted in scope . . . and fairly degenerate in quality. For example, certain signals might be accepted as properly formed sentences, while others are classed as nonsentences, as a result of correction of the learner's attempts on the part of the linguistic community. (Chomsky 1965: 25,31)

The linguistic arguments against attempting to teach SE in an HCE speaking community hinge on the nature of the "primary linguistic data" in such a community. The tasks which Lakoff and Chomsky set (by extension) for the young second language learner are dependent on the ability to process that data. Both assume that human beings bring some innate competence to the task. The second language learner will be exposed to a very small percentage of the utterances possible in the new language and by no means will all of those utterances be "correct." Despite the amount and quality of the information, the learner will ordinarily acquire the new language. In Lakoff's terms, the second language learner "knows in advance" that language is subject to speaker forgetfulness, hesitancy, inconsistency, confusion, etc. The learner "knows" that the primary linguistic data

TABLE 1
The sixteen possible sources of judgments on four sentences in a bidialectal situation.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
S	S	S	S	H	S	H	S	H	S	H	S	H	H	H	H
S	S	S	H	S	S	S	H	S	H	H	H	S	H	H	H
S	S	H	S	S	H	S	S	H	H	S	H	H	S	H	H
S	H	S	S	S	H	H	H	S	S	S	H	H	H	S	H

is raw data—it is not paradigmatic. Since human beings learn language we know that the shortcomings of the data are not an insurmountable handicap to acquisition. But a different situation exists in the case of the child attempting to learn two dialects simulaneously. Then the primary linguistic data is no longer simply degenerate. It becomes contradictory. In a situation where the linguistic communities are the ESL teacher and classroom teachers on the one hand and peers on the other, the learner will have to deal with *consistently* contradictory feedback.

In a monodialectal situation, a learner who hears or uses four sentences and has feedback that two of them are unacceptable and which ones those are, has some fairly straight-forward data with which to begin developing "an internal representation of a system of rules." With four sentences there are six possible combinations of acceptable and deviant pairs. For example, the feedback could indicate that the first two sentences he attempted were acceptable, but the last two were not. In a monodialectal situation the next step is analyzing and processing the judgments and the sentences involved. In a bidialectal situation the next step is not to analyze and process. It is absolutely crucial that the learner determine the source of the feedback. He must know which dialect is being used as the basis for each judgment. If the feedback indicated that his first two sentences were acceptable but the last two were not (or even vice versa) he must determine from which of the sixteen possible combinations of sources shown in Table 1 the feedback came. *H* represents a speaker of HCE, and *S* represents a speaker of SE.

Table 2 shows the sixteen possibilities when the four sentences involved are:

#1—I wen go.
#2—Where John stay?
#3—I have finished.
#4—He's eating.

TABLE 2
The sixteen feedback possibilities with readings on four specific sentences.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
#1—I wen go.	*S	*S	*S	*S	H	*S	H	*S	H	*S	H	*S	H	H	H	H
#2—Where John stay?	*S	*S	*S	H	*S	*S	*S	H	*S	H	H	H	*S	H	H	H
#3—I have finished.	S	S	*H	S	S	*H	S	S	*H	*H	S	*H	*H	S	*H	*H
#4—He's eating.	S	*H	S	S	S	*H	*H	*H	S	S	S	*H	*H	*H	S	*H

An asterisk (*)before S or H represents a judgment of *deviant* in that dialect; if there is nothing before the S or H it means that the sentence is acceptable in that dialect. If feedback on all four came only from SE speakers (column 1) the judgments would be that sentences #1 and #2 were deviant, sentences #3 and #4 were acceptable. If feedback on the four identical sentences came only from HCE speakers (column 16) the judgments would be exactly opposite: #1 and #2 acceptable, #3 and #4 deviant. As Table 2 shows, this is also true of seven other pairs: columns 2 and 15, 3 and 14, 4 and 13, etc. None of the sixteen combinations shown in columns 1-16 would give identical feedback to the learner. If the learner's initial hypothesis is that all information in the new language is to be weighted equally in the search for rules, and there is no compelling reason to believe otherwise, then the tables indicate that until he consciously discriminates between dialects the information he receives will be useless in acquiring *either* dialect as a separate entity.

If the situation were only as complicated as the tables imply, the task would be difficult enough. However, it is even more complex because Table 2 implies that there is a one-to-one relationship between deviant and acceptable utterances in the two dialects. The display below comes closer to the actual situation.

HCE judgement	Sentence	SE judgement
a) *	I never seen him.	*
b) *	I didn't see him.	OK
c) OK	I get two cousin.	*
d) OK	What's this?	OK
e) OK	I go see him.	*/OK
f) OK	I see him.	*/OK
g) OK	I never see him.	*/OK

A deviant HCE sentence can be either deviant or acceptable in SE, as in *a* and *b* above. An acceptable HCE sentence can be either acceptable only or deviant only in SE, as in *c* and *d*; or grammatically acceptable but semantically different in SE, as in *e, f* and *g*. Each of these three sentences is a well formed SE sentence but it doesn't mean the same thing as the identical SE sentence. In HCE *e, f* and *g* are simple future, simple past and simple negated past in that order. In SE they are present continuous, simple present and past continuous in that order. This is a case where superficially identical utterances are not semantic equivalents. On the other hand, the learner is faced with very serious difficulties in attempting to establish equivalencies between superficially different but semantically identical utterances, such as the SE/HCE pairs below. It must be remembered that this task is *in addition* to control of paraphrase, synonymy, etc, within each separate dialect.

SE : WERE AUNT SALLY AND HER FAMILY HERE?
hce : auntie sally foks wen stay?

SE : YEAH, THEY WERE HERE, BUT THEY LEFT.
hce : yeah, wen, a' no more already.

SE : I DON'T HAVE ANY.
hce : i no more

SE : LATER ON WE WILL RUN OUT OF FOOD.
hce : by and by the food going be not enough.

The next two pairs of sentences are meant to show that if the learner "count(s) on being able to form simple sentences from individual items by placing them one after another in some order," (Lakoff 1970) he is going to have to have a very flexible concept of "some." Again, it must be remembered that knowing that the following SE/HCE pairs are equivalents is *in addition* to normal word order problems within a single dialect, such as the active/passive relationship in SE.

SE : WHY ARE THOSE ALL GONE/USED UP?
hce : how come no more any of those?

SE : THE PEOPLE WHO RUN THE SHELL STATION IN
WAIMEA ARE HIS RELATIVES.
hce : the shell station is related to him in waimea.

One assumes that the human mind has the innate capacity to process great quantities of strikingly complex information and arrive at a language. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain the ability to learn language(s). But there is no compelling reason to believe that this capacity includes the ability to process two separate dialects of a language simultaneously. (Learning two separate languages simultaneously and natively is a different process which does not involve the kinds of skewed feedback found in the tables above.) One intriguing possibility is that it is precisely the attempt to do this which results in "broken English," i.e., a unique, personal Pidgin, rather than control of either dialect.

CONCLUSION/SUMMARY

Control of HCE does not preclude academic success or acquisition of SE. Commitment to a culture is an important factor in second language acquisition and on Hawaii, HCE is an integral component of the culture of second language learners' peers. Under normal conditions young immigrant children will learn the dialect of their peers. If the attempt is made to impose a standard dialect of English on these children it will make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for them to process the consistently contradictory information and feedback which they will be receiving. Therefore, productive control of standard dialects should not be required initially from young second language learners in communities where the peer dialect is a non-standard one.

NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION IN THE CLASSROOM

Non Verbal Communication in the Classroom: A Frill or a Must?

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It is indeed a great pleasure to be here at this time of the year, and to have the opportunity to talk with you about a field which promises to be a very interesting and productive one for teachers of English as a second language: non-verbal communication across cultures in ESOL and bilingual classrooms.

Talking about "culture," it has been quite a culture shock to get used to cold weather again, and if my voice cracks, it is one of the signs of the strain my body is undergoing, trying to switch cultural channels regarding temperature. However, getting used to new experiences in temperature has not been the only source of culture shock as a result of being in the States once again. After 10 years of absence, it shook me out of my normal cultural state of tropical calm and contentment to find that most everything works here to an unprecedented degree of efficiency (if compared to my own culture): telephones work to perfection, trains run on time, airplane tickets are sent to you through the mail, and when they say breakfast at MacDonald's closes at eleven a.m., it does close at eleven.

All these experiences have fascinated me, especially when I project them to our own field of teaching, and see them as examples of how two cultures in contact enrich each other.

ESOL and Bilingual Education make a lot of sense in a country like the United States, which is not a nation of one people, but of many peoples, trying to do what for many is madness and a scandal: trying to live together in peace and mutual respect. This amazing feat of the many and the different trying to live together with dignity was basically the daring experiment and dream that the founding fathers of this country had in mind and made a reality when they brought forth this nation.

For a while there, the United States and its peoples seemed to have lost this dream. But I think this country is most decidedly regaining it. Such Congressional Acts as the Bilingual Education Act and the many others that have led to it are proof of this. Many people seem to agree that the new version of the American dream is "to find and experience the new enterprise of living together," as Don Jaime Benitez (1974), former President of the University of Puerto Rico, said at the New York Convention on Bilingual Education. Edward T. Hall, a famed American anthropologist, adds the following:

> (There must be) a rekindling of the adventuresome spirit and excitement of our frontier days . . . We are confronted with urban and cultural frontiers today . . . We need both excitement and ideas and we will discover that both are more apt to be found in people than in things, . . . in involvement rather than in detachment from life. (1966: 187)

Today I would like to discuss with you the relatively new field of non-verbal communication, a field which I feel is rich in its possibilities for making our efforts in ESOL and Bilingual Education more effective in giving our students from so many different cultures better tools for a successful and richer life. I also feel it can give both the English-speaking and non-English-speaking students a clearer vision of themselves and others, which I am sure will lead to better understanding and acceptance of those around.

Let me read this little poem to you, and take you from there into the discussion of proxemics, haptics, kinesics, parakinsesics and their inclusion in our teaching. This is a poem by W. H. Auden; taken from *The Birth of Architecture.*

Some thirty inches from my nose
The frontier of my Person goes,
and all the untilled air between
is private "pagus" or demesne.
Stranger, unless with bedroom eyes
I beckon you to fraternize,
Beware of rudely crossing it;
I have no gun, but I can spit.

What is the message of the poem? In the field which studies space in interpersonal relationships across cultures, PROXEMICS, the personal (uninvadable, nontransgressible) distance at which you should stand away from somebody else in the United States (Anglos), and in many other northern countries of Europe, is from 18 to 30 inches. Of course, there is also the intimate distance at which people interrelate. In the United States, this distance is from skin contact to from 6 to 18 inches. This is a culturally determined, learned behavior carried out unconsciously day by day, and it differs from culture to culture. How does space function in Latin American countries and in southern European countries? There, the personal distance is what is intimate distance in the United States, from 6 to 18 inches. Thus, in dealing with Latins, many Americans feel that they want to spit because they find Latins too close, too pushy, and too "sexy." How do the Latins feel when they talk to Americans and see them cringing back to regain—without their knowing, of course—their culturally learned comfortable distance? Well, Americans seem aloof, cold, uninterested, and perhaps even racially or politically prepudiced. This is an explosive area of inter personal relationship. Still, even though it is such a delicate point between these cultures, I have never seen reference to space, or proxemics, incorporated into the instructions for teaching ESL dialogues to our non-English-speaking population, nor in teaching Spanish dialogues to our Anglo population.

Let us now go into HAPTICS, the study of touching. You already know, I am sure, that together with most northern European countries, the United States belongs to the non-contact, non-touching cultures. I remember the strange experience I had on my first day in the United States just a month and a half ago, when I had to sit for about an hour in the lobby of the Law School at Temple University, which was filled with young students. During that hour of constant talking and bantering among the students, there was not a single instance of touching among them. We Latins touch, to a degree that is outrageous, threatening, and oftentimes insulting to most Anglos. However, touching is also a way of "talking" in most Latin countries. Take a normal everyday greeting among Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, etc. If you have already met and are friends, there is constant touching and slapping of backs, kissing and rubbing of bodies. If two women of the same age and social status meet, there is hugging, kissing and rubbing of upper parts of bodies in some cases. If men of the same age and social status meet, there is the beating of backs, a hug maybe, and the firm shaking of hands. There are all kinds of non-verbal things involved and happening in even the simplest of greetings in all cultures. And, all of you know that greetings and leave-takings are one of the first dialogues to be learned in most ESL or foreign language courses. They are indeed very complex activities non-verbally speaking. All of us are culture bound; we learned one way of behaving way back when we were small, and that is the "easy" and "right" way; it is our non-verbal vernacular. Not only that, but we cannot shed it easily, anymore than we can shed our language, or our eating habits. However, if culture is learned, then it can be taught. But is this part of culture being taught in school? Are we instructing our students in our ESL and bilingual programs that if they are Latins, they cannot go around over-squeezing Anglos? And are Anglos being taught that they should start squeezing their Latin friends if they do not want to be considered cold, unfriendly, rejecting and insulting?

My third example is taken from another type of difference between Anglo and Latin cultures. Most Anglos in the United States have a *monochronic* culture, while Latin cultures are *polychronic*. A few examples will clarify the terms. In the United States, most interpersonal relations among Anglos, whether formal or informal, are carried out in a one-to-one sequence. If you go to a store, the clerk takes care of one person at a time; you form lines at stamp windows, etc., for the same reason. I learned my lesson at Gimbels in New York City when I interrupted a dialogue a clerk was having with a customer to ask her about some beads she had in front of her. She snappily told me to wait my turn. Thus the term: mono (one) chronic (time)—one at a time. In Puerto Rico and in other Latin countries, a clerk takes care of two, three, four people at a time (poly [many] chronic [time]). A newcomer has priority over the previous customer. But there are limits. After five customers, I have seen clerks getting anxious. Some of them call the manager for help.

Shopping at stores is an important skill that any person living in the United States should master, even though self-service stores have reduced the problem somewhat. This difference should be included in our curriculum, because the situation repeats itself, and not just at stores. Polychronism is applied in all interpersonal relationships in Latin cultures. Here's another example: if I, as a Puerto Rican teacher, am talking to one of my colleagues, on of my students, or to my Dean, and another colleague or student approaches me wanting to talk to me, I immediately cease talking to the person I was talking to, and acknowledge the newcomer. And the three of us talk! This situation repeats itself constantly whenever conversations between two persons are taking place in a public or semi-public place, like offices. Newcomers are never left out; in fact, they are invited to join a conversation that is already going on as a matter of courtesy. So when *do* you talk very privately? You have to do something very unusual for Puerto Ricans: you close your door.

I believe this pattern is so drastically different from the Anglo pattern that Puerto Ricans and other Latins must be taught how to deal with people in a monochronic cultural setting. In the same fashion, Anglos must be taught how to deal with Latins and their polychronic culture. I have seen Americans depart in despair from store counters in Puerto Rico and from friendly conversations because they insist on waiting their turn, or in speaking in a one-to-one order with their friend. At the stores, they tell the clerk they will wait their turn, when actually what they are doing is missing their turn completely.

Let me discuss KINESICS now, the field that studies body motions and gestures. Puerto Ricans have two very interesting gestures that many of you probably know quite well by now. I mean the wiggling'' of the nose to mean: "Who?" "What?" "What was that?" "What can I do for you?" And with a concerned look on your face, it means: "Anything wrong?" "What is the matter?" "What ails you?" Then, there is the pointing with puckered lips, which does not mean "the blowing of a kiss.'' It means: ''There.'' ''Over there.'' ''That one.'' "Those."

Now, a Puerto Rican may use these gestures as complete questions, instead of the verbal patterns. Oftentimes, when a teacher asks something in English and the students do not understand, the noses go into action. The pointing with the lips is used constantly to point, to request something a distance away, and even to send messages of warm fellowship when it is joined to a smile to mean: "Listen to that love talk! Thas was a sweet thing to say." But to this day, I have never "seen" questions or expressions like these in English.

These wonderful gestures, which you can master here today, will not do in an English context. They are meaningless here. Puerto Ricans and other Latins must be taught, first of all, to realize that they wiggle their noses and point with their lips, since these are unconscious actions peculiar to their culture (a step in self-awareness, self-identity). Next, they must be taught that this form of kinesics, i.e.: this non-verbal way of communicating in their culture, is nonexistent in the Anglo and northern European cultures. Third, they should be taught that even if they use the gestures—which they will—they must accompany them with words. Anglos should also be taught about this behavior, for they would be learning not just new gestures, but also the liberating truth that there is incredible and exciting variety among humans when we communicate among ourselves. Moreover, both groups of students would also be learning to switch cultural channels, a skill no one can do without in this world of ours.

I have left out many other differences, which there is not time to discuss now. For example, a) personal vs. impersonal, b) tiempo Ingles vs. tiempo latino, c) bargaining vs. non-bargaining, d) noisy vs. silent cultures, e) staring vs. non-staring, f) joking vs. non-joking, etc. All of these differences should be incorporated into ESL and Bilingual Education curricula.

Before concluding, I would like to present to you some observations from the researchers in the field of non-verbal communication that I think are fundamental to our ESOL and Bilingual Education programs, and which I hope you will remember in your classrooms, especially when you are teaching those very dehydrated dialogues in most of your textbooks.

Some of the scholars who have done, and are doing, extensive work in the field of non-verbal communication are Hall, Birdwhistell, Mead, Schefflen, Brier, Green, Cervenka, and Rosenthal, to name a few. Following are some key messages for you from them, messages all of us should remember, meditate upon, and try to apply to our classrooms.

> To focus exclusively upon the words humans interchange is to eliminate much of the communicational process from view, and thus, from purposive control. It is my guess that probably no more than 30% to 35% of the social meaning of conversation or an interaction is carried by words. Birdwhistell 1970: 50

> Still as of today, it is presumed that if both A and B (two speakers) have properly learned their grammar, have good enough dictionaries which they studied adequately, spoke loud enough and were neither of them deaf, and did not become too emotional, communication has taken place . . . Actually, the

> communication stream can be made up of multiple behavioral patterns existing on different levels. Research is slowly demonstrating that communicating is made up of levels of activity, the verbal being one among many others. (Birdwhistell 1970: 88)

There is movement (kinesics), space (proxemics), how you order your activities (temporality), touching (haptics), although very little investigation has been carried out in the olfactory and thermal levels.

> We can no more understand communication by exhaustive investigation of language and paralanguage (intonation, stress, juncture) than we can understand physiology by, say, the exhaustive investigation of the circulatory or nervous system. Physiology as we know it is less than 100 years old. Little by little, we have come to understand the neural processes, then, endocrinology, and the circulation of the blood. However, until the living system as a whole was examined, modern physiology with its complex considerations of homeostasis, balance, organization of its sub-systems could not be conceived. (Birdwhistell 1970: 73–74)

ESL instruction is still about 100 years behind physiology, it seems. We still believe that communication and social competence is linguistically based. We, in dissecting "the cadaver" of communication and social interchange have discovered a system: language: We seem to think it is all of communication, but it is not. There are other systems of communication besides language, and many scholars have been concerned with these other systems for a long time now: anthropologists, social scientists, and especially psychiatrics. But not language teachers . . . as yet.

There are some additional reminders for us, that I want to pass on to you. Sapir tells us the following:

> We respond to gestures with an extreme alertness and . . . in accordance with an elaborate and secret code that is written nowhere, known by none, and understood by all. (1921: 556)

However, Birdwhistell, supported by Mead and many others, says:

> We have found no gesture or body motion which has the same social meaning in all societies. There is no body motion or gesture that can be regarded as a universal symbol. Not even a smile. In fact, the methods of organizing body motion into communicative behavior by various societies may be as variable as the structure of the languages of these societies. (1970: 81)

In other words, if the markers or patterns of non-verbal levels are culture bound, learned behavior, there is great possibility of confusion when the messages are given in another cultural context or setting. "In the USA, we move and speak American English" (Birdwhistell 1970). In Puerto Rico, we move and speak Puerto Rican Spanish, and "never the twain shall meet."

In fact,—and a very dramatic one at that

> . . . if the communicational behavior of an individual in our culture is sufficiently unexpected and idiosyncratic as to be beyond the range of our previous experiences, we may be unable to relate to him successfully. We usually tend to label such behavior as pathological. (Birdwhistell 1970: 15)

To our culture-bound eyes and senses, people from other cultures behave strangely or even pathologically. What is totally natural in one culture may be perceived and interpreted as pathological in another.

This last comment explains my worry and concern regarding the present teaching of ESL here in the States, where so many different cultures meet. Our teaching has completely excluded the kinesis, proxemic, haptic and parakinesic dimensions of communication.

I hope I have intrigued, interested and motivated you enough so that the next time you teach a dialogue or you interrelate with Latins or anybody else from another culture than your own, you stop to think about some of the things I have brought to your attention today, things that do not yet appear in the dialogue text but which should definitely be there. I hope many of you will become motivated enough to find out what those absent messages are, and start writing out the scripts that are missing, the non-verbal communication information that should accompany all oral interplay in any language teaching.

Some preliminary language materials incorporating non-verbal communication have recently been completed, with federal funds, in Pennsylvania. These may be obtained free of charge by writing T. A. Bonder, Bilingual ESL Center, 100 Franklin Street, New Holland, Pennsylvania 17557.

In closing, I would like to leave with you some thoughts from Edward T. Hall, taken from his well known book, *The Silent Language.*

> Man did not evolve culture as a means of smothering himself, but as a medium to move, live, breathe, and develop his own uniqueness . . . Full acceptance of the reality of culture would have revolutionary consequences, although (in studying it) we should expect resistance, for the universe does not yield its secrets easily, and culture is no exception. (However), full understanding of what culture is should rekindle our interest in life, in finding out who we are, in trying to find out who others are. (1959: 165–66)

I add that we, as teachers, are committed to this activity, that of discovery and of deepening insight, so critically important in this age of closed-in spaces, of shortened distances, and of multi-contacts with the many and the different.

There may come a time in the very near future when culture and all its systems are better known, and the wave the equivalent of what someone has called "musical scores" that can be learned by everyone. At this moment the task seems impossible to carry out. But it has been done before thousands of times in the history of man.

> Time, which is such a well-known system for us, and one we take very much for granted, was once a . . . system known only to a few priests along the Nile River who had perfected it in response to a *need* to forecast annual floods more accurately. (Edward T. Hall 1959: 130)

There is such a pressing need at present: intercultural understanding, the carrying out of the new enterprise of learning to live together. Together but different. Let's get on with the task.

Beyond Words: Nonverbal Communication in EFL

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Whenever an EFL teacher contacts a student from another culture, they are both immediately placed in two communication situations: a verbal and a nonverbal one. EFL teachers are aware mostly of the native *languages* their foreign students speak, and only notice their students' *body* language when they "act peculiar." Of course we do study the students' native cultures in order to bridge the communication gap, but we often forget that just as every spoken language is part of its parent culture, so also is every *body* language uniquely a product of its culture.

We know that crosscultural communication problems can be caused by a student who speaks English with a foreign accent; however, little attention is normally given to problems caused by a student who behaves with a foreign "body-language accent"—and even less attention is paid to the problems that develop because the teachers' own American body language is not understood by the students. If EFL teaching does involve facilitating crosscultural communication, then somewhere in EFL we must include the role which nonverbal communication (NVC) plays in this crosscultural communication process.[1]

Just as spoken communication can be two way, so can nonverbal communication also be two way. We therefore have both the teacher's and the student's body languages to consider. There are four ways in which nonverbal behavior operates in the EFL classroom: (1) EFL teachers unconsciously reveal their physical states and mental attitudes toward their students and lessons, (2) students reveal their physical states and mental attitudes toward their teachers and classes, (3) teachers either read or misread their students' NVC signals and (4) foreign students either read or misread their teacher's NVC signals.

Before we go further, we need a statement about the sorts of nonverbal communicative behavior we are talking about. In H. Taylor (1974a) nonverbal communication was discussed using Duncan's (1969) six objective headings: kinesic behavior, paralanguage, proxemics, olfaction, skin sensitivity, and the use of artifacts. Further detail from that article on the subcategorizing of kinesic behavior is given in Appendix A. For EFL teaching purposes this division of NVC. These terms directly relate the nonverbal communication to the what I will call "verbal-supportive" NVC and "–verbal-supportive" NVC. These terms directly relate the nonverbal communication to the communicative situation in which they occur in a way in which Duncan's system may not be able to.

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[1] Although this paper deals specifically with the EFL situation, crosscultural communication also breaks down when people from just slightly different subcultures within the same country attempt to communicate; therefore, much of what will be said here applies to communication problems between speakers of English who have differing body languages. For example, do you give the same interpretation to the body language of a woman who sits with legs crossed *above* the knee as you do to that of a woman who crosses them *below* the knee? Your own "body language dialect" will govern your answer to this.

To elaborate, verbal-*supportive* NVC would include pointing when saying "this or "that"—these gestures clarify, emphasize, or otherwise *support* the communicative meanings of the words being spoken. –Verbal-*supportive* NVC would include, first, nervous mannerisms that have nothing to do with the meaning of our spoken words—such as finger drumming, toe tapping, etc. In addition, –verbal-*supportive* NVC also includes behavior which negates or otherwise changes the normal illocutionary force of the spoken words—such as holding one's nose and grimacing while saying "Something sure smells good in here." Since Duncan's NVC modalities include paralinguistic features, such as vocal tonality and shifts in stress and intonation, spoken sarcasm is another part of this verbal-independent NVC.

In Figure 1 these two verbal-related types of NVC behavior are across the top of a type of feature matrix. These two categories can each then be divided into conscious and unconscious NVC, the two categories down the left side of the matrix.

The examples given in Figure 1 include two types of pointing at an object while saying "that"—the [+conscious], as in the careful choreography of the TV politician, and the [–conscious], as in most casual conversation. (Of course, the matter of whether you point using your index finger, your full hand, your lips, or your chin will probably be an unconscious choice learned from your native culture.) Nervous mannerisms fall into the [–conscious, –verbal-supportive] categories. The sarcastic "it stinks" nose-holding gesture most likely is [+conscious, –verbal-supportive] when used with the words "smells nice." Much nonverbal behavior cannot be clearly defined by an outside observer as being either conscious or unconscious, but in many in-

	[+Verbal-supportive]	[−Verbal-supportive]
[+Conscious]	Planned emphatic gestures (e.g., TV politicians' pointing into the camera lens at his unseen audience)	[−Verbal-supportive] (e.g., holding one's nose when saying "it smells good")
[−Conscious]	Explanatory gestures (e.g., pointing when saying "that")	Nervous mannerisms (e.g., finger drumming, doodling)

Figure 1
Categories of NVC

stances where this distinction can be made, it is useful for analyzing crosscultural communication problems.

THE TEACHER'S [-CONSCIOUS, -VERBAL-SUPPORTIVE] NVC

Americans reveal their mental and physical states to other Americans by the way they stand, sit, and walk, as well as by the more obvious facial expressions. We also similarly reveal our attitudes toward people and what they say. Anyone from a similar cultural background unconsciously reads these nonverbal signals and adjusts his/her communication accordingly. However, people from a non-American background generally unconsciously interpret what they see us do in terms of what that behavior would mean "back home" from someone from their own culture. Our students begin to do this to us from the moment they enter our classes.

For example, our unconscious attempts to establish and hold eye contact with students may be interpreted by students from some cultures as an accusation of wrongdoing, or as flirting by other students, or as a non-professional breaking down of the "proper" teacher-student dichotomy by still others. Or, on the first day when we point to each successive student and ask "What's your name?" some may be shocked, since index-finger pointing at humans is demeaning throughout much of Asia. Or if we touch them (or their attractive children) on the head in a friendly American gesture, or if we sit so our toes point toward them, or if we beckon them with a curled index finger, we also may be insulting them. Our friendly smile may be a derisive "I'm laughing at you" sneer to others. Teachers can and do learn to avoid these and other specific gestures and expressions, but what about the thousands of things we *unconsciously* do that are potentially offensive?

I suggest one useful exercise here: Videotape any two Americans talking (maybe from a TV soap opera) and have your students watch the playback *without* the sound. Show only two or three minutes, then discuss what the students think was going on—were the actors angry, happy, bored, upset, etc.?—and what gave that impression to the students? The bits of body language which the students cite as evidence for their opinions should be a starting point in deciding what in your own behavior is being misread by your particular group of students. Then videotape yourself as you teach some class; besides discovering how much of what you do in class is unproductive, you may be surprised to see yourself doing some of the nonverbal behavior that your students have already reacted negatively to in the soap operas. This can be a first step in "Teacher, know thyself."

Before we leave this point, one warning may be appropriate. Teachers sometimes feel that their students, being foreigners, won't detect from the teacher's NVC when he/she is impatient, disgusted with student slowness, or bored with the class. Take no comfort, since there are at least certain signals of emotion that can be universally recognized, according to work done by Paul Ekman and Jerry Boucher (Boucher 1969).

THE STUDENTS' [-CONSCIOUS, -VERBAL-SUPPORTIVE] NVC

Just as surely as we teachers send signals unconsciously about our own attitudes and feelings, so also do our students indicate how well they are grasping what is going on in our classes. At times we can tell what students are thinking, how well they have grasped our explanations and directions, and whether or not they are enjoying the class; at other times, we feel we are getting no feedback at all from even those same students. Certain cultures display their feelings so differently from what Americans look for that we may miss the signals that are there—or it may be that their culture demands the masking of all emotion in the presence of any authority figure, including a foreign teacher.

Boucher tells of an American traveling with a Malaysian friend. When the friend's car broke down, the American could easily tell from the Malaysian's face that he was angry. After a long walk, they arrived at their destination—the home of the Malaysian's father-in-law. The father-in-law "berated him . . . for spending so much money on a car that wouldn't even carry him home." The Malaysian "took the abuse calmly, displaying virtually no anger at the old man's harsh words." When asked later by the American why he didn't get angry, the friend said that "indeed he had been angry at his father-in-law, but that it would not have been proper for him to have shown his anger in such a situation" (Boucher 1974:1).

Ray Birdwhistell, one of the better-known kinesicists, holds to the behaviorist position that kinesic behavior is learned behavior, and therefore that universals are not to be expected in body language (Birdwhistell 1970:187). Boucher (1974:11) states that "basic emotions are built into the individual, but that he learns stimuli for triggering a specific emotion, and he learns how to modify the resulting behavior"—in other words, everybody gets angry, but different things anger people from different cultures, and each culture teaches its members when and how to either display or mask their anger.

This masking hypothesis is supported by a number of carefully controlled experiments and accounts of one experience of EFL teachers in their classrooms. At times we can tell when a student is becoming angry with another student; at other times we fail to detect the anger until it explodes and that class session goes up in smoke. The same is true of other feelings; we sometimes can detect student boredom, interest, antagonism, frustration, pleasure, refusal, acceptance, etc., but other times we cannot, even in the same students. It evidently depends on whether their masks are on or off.

In language classes when students are actively involved in communicating they may discard enough of their native body-language "display rules" (Ekman 1972) for the mask to drop; only then may we be observing some sort of body-language universal behavior. So long as our students are conscious that they are "mere students," or are "foreigners," or are "inadequate speakers of English" or are taking any other role that puts them on guard, the mask will be on; we will then need to know much about both their culture and their emotion display rules in order to interpret their body language with any hope of accuracy. (See Appendix B for some hypothetical display rules.)

Some display rules are already known for just about every culture from which our students come; what is not known is when a certain display rule can or will be dropped during communication in English. Just when a teacher seems to have discovered a display rule, for example that "Japanese girls cover their mouths and smile when embarrassed (Morsbach 1973: 269), a Japanese girl student will respond without any apparent restraints. The teacher should try to discover as many of the display rules as possible in order to understand the person behind the mask; when the mask is lowered, then the teacher must be prepared for student "impertinence" or "crudeness." Actually, the student may be neither impertinent nor crude, but may have simply dropped his/her native display rules without replacing them with the appropriate American display rules for that particular situation. Haven't we all met not only the meek, mousy Japanese maiden but also her friend, the loudmouthed, brassy Japanese fashionplate who disdains the Japanese nonverbal rules but has not yet picked up the Western ones appropriate to her wardrobe?

Some work is going on in a number of cultures to identify display rules that unconsciously accompany communication. All good teachers do perhaps as much teaching from student feedback as from prepared lesson plans. But when this feedback is missing or is misunderstood, the quality of our teaching deteriorates. It *is* important for the EFL teacher to be able to read the unconscious signals coming from the students.

We can train ourselves and future teachers to observe the nonverbal behavior of our students. Videotapes of students allow us to view them in two types of situations—either under pressure with their defenses up and their native display rules in full operation, or when involved and relaxed enough for some of these rules to cease operating.

In my work with Japanese students learning English, I have elicited the "typical" Japanese anxiety reactions by placing them under pressure in English interview situations with Americans. I have found less reaction when they are interviewing each other in English and even less reaction when they are involved in meaningful interaction with other non-Japanese students. (As would be expected from a knowledge of Japanese culture, middle-aged Japanese men still conform more closely to the prescribed display rules even in relaxed, animated interaction situations than do younger men even under some degree of pressure.)

Michael Bond has done some interesting experiments which indicate that a Japanese will relax when speaking with a person who leans 20° toward him and will also view the forward-leaning person as more friendly than one who leans back 20°. Bond's same experiment also investigates smiling and talkativeness as nervous activities. His results indicate that Japanese women subjects smile and talk more than do men in identical interview situations. Bond (1974) explains that "the display rules governing male and female expression of anxiety may be different here" (p. 123). Earlier research has found that a forward body lean creates favorable impressions in other cultures also (James 1932, Mehrabian 1968). Bond further cites leg gestures and manipulation as a clear anxiety signal for seated Japanese males and females (p. 122).

By being aware of the fact that leaning back while communicating sends anxiety-producing nonverbal signals to certain people, we may be able to avoid this bit of behavior—especially in office interview settings—and substitute the anxiety-reducing forward lean posture. Also, when we note considerable leg movement among our students, we could introduce a change in classroom activity to relieve tension or otherwise attempt to reduce student anxiety. Of course, the problem would be of a different origin if the leg movement were due, as it was in one of my classrooms in Hawaii, to mosquitoes under the desks—an illustration of the basic point that no single bit of nonverbal behavior can be properly interpreted apart from the entirety of the situation.

Implicit in what has been said above is the assumption that not only must the teacher know the nonverbal signals he or she is sending and how they are apt to be understood by the EFL class, but also the teacher must know how to interpret the nonverbal signals being sent by the students to the teacher and to other members of the class. Latin Americans appear to have fewer display rules to mask their feelings than do the Japanese. In fact, they seem to lack even the relatively few display rules of North Americans, and therefore more often overstep rules of propriety in our classrooms than do other students—unless that dubious honor belongs to teen-age Iranian males in classes taught by young American women. Although many EFL students have little consciousness that learning English includes anything more than learning the spoken and written language, they usually are vaguely aware of what are called "American customs." Few of them see any importance in learning anything but the most obvious cultural gestures—such as handshaking instead of bowing or giving the Latin *abrazo* (embrace). Americans are likewise generally ignorant of just which bits of American nonverbal behavior are important for crosscultural communication, and, in fact, many are unaware of the importance of nonverbal communication even between native Americans.

Much of the serious research on American body language has been with the purpose of establishing behavioral norms against which emotionally disturbed patients could be compared for diagnosis and therapy. These findings have been published mainly in psychology journals. Occasionally some of this research spills over into psycholinguistics, with some recent interest being shown in the application of this part of psycholinguistics to EFL. A few American authors have produced some lucrative paperbacks which, though essentially superficial, may help open up this field in an informal way to EFL teachers (Fast 1971, Nierenberg and Calero 1973).

TEACHING NVC IN THE EFL CLASSROOM

What is needed now is a description of the role of NVC teaching in the EFL classroom. My personal suggestion is that we not try to teach our students how to *act* like Americans unless their spoken language is exceptionally proficient; the focus of their study should be on the verbal language.

I have, however, given private comments on how Americans may misread foreign body language to students who have shown special sensitivity to NVC, and also to a few who have acted particularly obnoxiously. These students seemed to have profited from these comments, and probably other students of that sort could be taught to *act* more American. In one other situation it appears that certain EFL students can profit from being taught how to act like Americans. These are advanced speakers, proficient enough to joke and swear in English at reasonably appropriate times, but who invariably appear to Americans to be show-offs or smart alecks. Meg Katsuragi (1974) has shown that bilingual speakers who are also *bicultural* consistently switch their nonverbal behavior codes when they switch languages;

it may be that these problem students are in some sense bilingual but not as yet sufficiently bicultural.

The "show-offs" I have worked with have had two problems in common—one is their inappropriate intonation and the other is their inappropriate body language. In normal English speech both intonation and body language combine to remove the sharp edges from what are otherwise cutting remarks. Unfortunately, there are no specific gimmicks for helping this show-off sort of student, except personalized intonation and body-language error analysis. Analysis has at least resulted in increasing the sensitivity of these students to the dangers inherent in their use of these types of spoken English. But has anyone developed a TEFL course for teaching American jokes and profanities yet?

Even though I feel it is unproductive to teach most students to act like Americans, foreign students are generally intrigued by discussions about American body language. This can become an effective topic around which to build a variety of language activities. In Crymes *et al.* (1974) there is an entire section based on NVC. Some other recent EFL materials also capitalize upon the student's inherent interest in these phenomena. Richard Bedford (1972) uses dramatic staging to teach both verbal and nonverbal language, with notes to explain the significance of the gestures and other NVC called for in his scripts. Dick Via (1971) has long been giving NVC its due as he teaches English through drama.

In a recent article (H. Taylor 1974b), I pointed out specific bits of Japanese nonverbal behavior which Americans misread either (1) because they resemble some certain American nonverbal behavior or (2) because they are completely new kinds of behavior for Americans. This first mistaken-identity type causes greater crosscultural communication problems than does the novel behavior type, which is sometimes so exotic that a simple explanation of its significance within Japanese culture may clear up any problem an American may have in interpreting such behavior.

TEFL students have similar types of problems in their reactions to American body language. They will be less upset by seeing us do something they think no other human has done before than by American behavior which resembles something done in their culture, but which has a different meaning to them. A nervous twitch of the right corner of the mouth (which hopefully has no semantic content anywhere in the world) will be less of a problem in crosscultural communication than will be the thumb-forefinger circle used by Americans to signal o.k.—but which means "money" to Japanese and has obscene meanings in some other cultures.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In summary, the general position I am advocating is that we not teach American nonverbal communication for *production* in EFL but rather that we limit ourselves to teaching it for *recognition* only. Whether we arrive at our corpus of teachable nonverbal behavior bits through a study of contrastive crosscultural behavior or through an analysis of those errors which hinder communication—or through a little of both—seems less important than just getting our students to be aware of the existence of nonverbal-communication problems in EFL.

Wilga Rivers has suggested that in EFL we aim at correcting primarily the language errors which cause a breakdown in communication (Rivers 1975), and Marina Burt (1975: 55) has suggested "criteria for determining the communicative importance of errors in adult discourse." There is a similar sort of intuitive feeling that the misreading of certain bits of NVC hinder communication more than do the misreadings of others, but so far we have no criteria for determining the relative importance of NVC problems. Until such evidence is available, I am attempting to collect and catalog experiences in nonverbal *mis*communication; perhaps from such a compilation we can determine what direction more careful research should take if it is to be of immediate value for EFL teaching.

This then has brought us back to our starting point—we need to recognize what we do nonverbally as teachers and how our students unconsciously read and react to these nonverbal signals; we also need to be sensitive to our conscious and unconscious reactions to the nonverbal behavior of our foreign students. American nonverbal behavior which has been misread by students can be explained, and, where profitable, selected students can be shown the impact of their own nonverbal behavior on native Americans. Can we now in our teaching go beyond words?

APPENDIX A

Nonverbal communication modalities from S. Duncan, "Nonverbal communication" in *Psychological Bulletin 22* (1969), 118.

I. Kinesic behavior
II. Paralanguage
III. Proxemics
IV. Olfaction
V. Skin sensitivity
VI. Use of artifacts

Nonverbal communication outline from H. Taylor "Japanese kinesics" in *The Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese, 9,* (January 1974), 67–73.

I. Kinesic behavior
    A. Facial expression
        1. Eyelids
        2. Eyebrows and forehead
        3. Nose
        4. Mouth and chin

- B. Eye movements
    - 1. Eye-to-eye contact
    - 2. Eye-to-lower face
    - 3. Eye lowering
    - 4. Eye pointing
- C. Head movements
    - 1. Nods (vertical, horizontal, combinations)
    - 2. Jerks (vertical, horizontal)
    - 3. Head pointing
- D. Shoulder and torso movement
    - 1. Bowing
    - 2. Turns
- E. Hand movements
    - 1. Giving
    - 2. Receiving
    - 3. Pointing
    - 4. Beckoning
    - 5. Greetings
    - 6. Rejection
    - 7. Farewell
    - 8. Negation, disagreement
    - 9. Acceptance, agreement
    - 10. Cogitation, perplexity
    - 11. Applause
- F. Postures (static)
    - 1. Unconscious (attitude-revealing)
    - 2. Prescribed (sitting, standing, walking)
- G. Pantomime
    - 1. Counting
    - 2. People
    - 3. Objects
- H. Miscellaneous
    - 1. Deference
    - 2. Embarrassment

II. Paralanguage
- A. Voice qualities
- B. Hesitations
- C. Silence
- D. Non-language vocalizations (laughing, crying, yawning, sneezing, etc.)

III. Proxemics
- A. Formal personal
- B. Non-formal personal
- C. Intimate
- D. Public non-personal

IV. Olfaction
- A. Natural body odors
- B. Artificial scents

V. Skin sensitivity
- A. Touch
- B. Temperature

VI. Use of artifacts
- A. Clothing
- B. Cosmetics
- C. Ornamentation
- D. Eating, cooking
- E. Household
- F. Sleeping

Appendix B

Stimulus	Culture-Based Learned Emotional Response (how one "feels")		Display Rules Governing How This Emotion Will be Expressed by the Subject		
	Culture Type	Emotion	Status of source of reprimand as a "filter"	Prescribed reactions ("the mask to wear")	
				Nonverbal	Verbal
A public reprimand face-to-face in front of peers	1	Anger	Superior →	No visible reaction	Silence
			Peer →	Frown	Silence
			Inferior →	Frown, shake fist	Protest innocence
	2	Anger	Superior →	Tears, low bow	Weeping
			Non-superior →	Frown, clench fists	Cast aspersions on parents of accuser
	3	Anger	Non-inferior →	Smile	Long explanation of reasons for error that prompted reprimand
			Inferior →	Physical attack on accuser	Curses on accuser
	4	Shame	Superior →	Prostrate self on ground	Beg forgiveness
			Peer →	Tears, bow	Weeping
			Inferior →	No visible reaction	Silence

HUMAN RELATIONS, AFFECT, AND COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

A Practical Humanism for Developing Communicative Competence in the ESL Learner

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A young teacher once wrote:

> I have come to a frightening conclusion. I am the decisive element in the classroom. It is my personal approach that creates the climate. It is my daily mood that makes the weather. As a teacher I possess tremendous power to make a child's life miserable or joyous. It can be a tool of torture or an instrument of inspiration. I can humiliate or humor, hurt or heal. In all situations it is my response that decides whether a crisis will be escalated or de-escalated, and a child humanized or dehumanized. (Ginott 1972: 15–16)

In the field of teaching English as a Second Language more than most, there seems to be a strong artificial division between teacher, method, and subject matter. There is much talk about the last two. We continually analyze and reanalyze our subject matter, classifying sets of habits and transformations, but we still do not know what we need to know to build adequate theories for teaching. We examine method after method, looking at the pros and cons of grammar translation, the direct method, the audiolingual method, and the cognitive method. We use language labs, teaching machines, and computers, not to mention numerous types of pattern practice, individualized instruction, and sequencing of materials around syntactic structures, semantics, pargmatics, situations, complexity, and difficulty. But we hear relatively little about the place of the teacher in all this. Perhaps the most cogent statement to date has been made by Jakobovits (1973), who says that not enough is known to prescribe exactly what should be done in specific language-teaching situations; even if it were, the attempt to impose prescriptive programs is destructive; thus, the teacher's intuitions as a professional individual should be given primary importance in order to nurture the educational process in both learners and teachers. His statement places the emphasis where it best belongs—on the process which occurs when people interact as human beings. It is this human interaction process, deriving its focus (but not its source) from its subject matter and its support (but not its direction) from its methodology, that constitutes the core of education, which, in the context of this paper, translates to mean the development of communicative competence in the ESL learner.

As the opening quote indicates, the most decisive element affecting this process in the classroom is the teacher.[1] Not teacher as funnel, task master, or puppeteer, but teacher as facilitator of learning. Every teacher has the dual responsibility of bringing the learners to achievement of the stated purpose of the course, whether it be a body of understandings or skills, and of helping them to become the fullest, richest human being they can.

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[1] "Teacher" here means teacher of ESL, whether to children, adolescents, or adults, and whether in a component of bilingual education, a foreign student classroom, adult basic education, or teaching overseas.

Most of the interest seems to center on how teachers can produce student achievement (assuming such production is possible), and very little centers on how they can (or even that they should) facilitate their becoming full, rich human beings. Somehow we feel that humanizing is a luxury we can ill afford; after all, we argue, it's achievement that counts, and we really have no responsibility for the quality of human life. On the contrary, the quality of human living is the basic purpose of education from its earliest traditions, and no teacher from any discipline, even the most abstract such as mathematics, can absolve themselves from it. I have discussed this responsibility as if it were a duality, but actually learner achievement and learner humanization are aspects of the same process; there is evidence coming in which indicates that education which is humanizing is also facilitative of greater achievement.

The kind of education that goes on in a good school has been summed up eloquently by Featherstone (1971):

> There has been substantial agreement that it would treat students as individuals giving them an opportunity to make significant choices; it should build on the interests, experiences, and expressiveness of teachers and children, stressing the active involvement of people in their own education. And it should concern itself with students' and teachers' feelings, the normal inescapable emotional context of communication; acting on the premise that relations between children and adults, and between children and other children, are of supreme educational importance, inside or outside of school.

Of course, what the school does is what happens in the classrooms, and that should be mainly (though not completely) under the "decisive influence" of the teacher.

The purpose of this paper is to show that the ESL teacher who is humanistic, demonstrating qualities of realness, prizing, and empathy, will have a classroom that is student-centered rather than teacher-centered. This type of classroom is more likely to release natural human impulses to communicate, foster spontaneous talk, and lead to communicative competence. By building classroom activity, as Featherstone says, on the "interests, experiences, and expressiveness" of teachers and students; by concerning itself "with students" and teachers' feelings"; by making supremely important the relationship between teacher and student and between student and student, people will have a lot they will want to talk about and many reasons for talking spontaneously. This talk arises out of student motivations; it is purposive and dyadic; and it has been described as the most important step in the development of communicative competence. First I shall describe what I mean by humanistic ESL teaching. Then I shall explain student-centered teaching. Finally I shall suggest concrete ways of actualizing it.

Humanistic teaching is based on a very different theoretical conception of man from that of the behaviorists. Discussion of some of these differences at the extreme ends of each orientation as they apply here will by contrast clarify the humanistic approach. (These contrasts are adapted from Broden and Stone, in press.)

1. The behaviorists see man as a machine that functions according to input-output or simple stimulus-response relations. They call him organism. The humanists see man with cognitive processes mediating between input and output; these processes can change the nature and meaning of input and output and thus man becomes more than a machine. They call him person.

2. To the behaviorists, man is basically passive and inert; he must be motivated, or stimulated by external forces, to perform. To the humanists, man is basically active and growing; he has a will of his own and sees a potential for growth. If you let him alone he will still be doing many things.

3. Behaviorists take a response-dominated view of man; they are interested mainly in how the environment functions to stimulate desired responses. Humanists take a generative-dominated view; they are interested in how he adapts creatively to the situation.

4. The behaviorists say that cognitive processes cannot be observed and measured, so it is useless to speculate about them. The humanists say that cognitive processes and structures can be inferred and, further, it is by using them that the person can control himself or herself.

5. Behaviorists see feelings and ideas as concomitants rather than causes of behavior, not to be paid much attention to. Humanists see feelings as related to thinking and choosing and as one crux of being human.

6. According to the behaviorists, human behavior is predictable because it is under the control of the environment. In time, they say, when more is known, it will be completely predictable (and controllable). According to the humanists, norms which describe behavior of a group of people may be predictable, but not the behavior of an individual, because he can always make a choice. Thus, a person will never be completely predictable.

7. Behaviorism sees humans locked into a deterministic structure within which they function according to reinforcement; they are incapable of altruistic behavior, including love. Humanism sees human

beings able to transcend their self structures through relationships and commitment to others.

Humanistic teaching, then, is based on ideas (alien to the behaviorists) such as active, growing, reaching one's potential, creativity, reasons for behavior, cognitive processes and structures, thinking, choosing, feeling, unpredictability, relating and commiting to others, transcending one's self. Of course, probably nobody is all one and none of the other. Most of us seem to blend elements from both.

It may be clear by now that the method of ESL instruction called audiolingual is based clearly in behaviorism. It was developed at a time when the so-called "base disciplines" of language teaching, psychology and linguistics, were strongly behavioristic. Thus, feelings, values, thinking, choosing, and relating to others were ignored, and we taught by stimulating and conditioning responses of varying degrees of strength, under various contingencies. We had people talking to others, teacher and student, student and student, as if they were computers busily tabulating input and cuing output, rather than thinking and feeling human beings.

The audiolingual approach at least had the learners talking (in a way) instead of translating. In arguing for a practical humanism, I am calling for not a specific method, but a flexibility of methods, under the direction of the teacher, that allows the person of the learner to enter into the teaching-learning process. Between input and output are thinking and feeling and living human beings, with their own goals. Instead of ignoring the person of the learners, I am proposing that we draw on them, that we bring them into the learning process, that we organize the learning process around them. I am suggesting that better, more efficient, pleasant, enduring, humanizing learning is more likely to occur, that communicative competence is more likely to result.

Then the question arises: how do we do this? Luckily, we don't have to start from scratch. A basic building block for a practical humanism can be found in the work of humanistic psychologist Carl Rogers, who has delineated three qualities that teachers can bring to the learning process which facilitate human growth: *empathy, prizing,* and *realnes.* In his excellent paper "The interpersonal relationship in the facilitation of learning" (1969), he presents evidence from research that good teachers demonstrate these qualities and poor teachers don't; and that students of teachers who have these qualities learn more that students of teachers who don't. Here I will simply describe briefly these teacher characteristics, which of course are not only qualities of teachers as persons but are qualities in the human interaction process, which the teacher, who has major responsibility as director of learning in the classroom, must establish.

Realness means that the teacher relates to his or her students as a vital *person*, not merely as a role, which is by far the most common mode. The teacher is aware of his or her own feelings, admits them and communicates them appropriately. *Prizing* means that the teacher values the learner, his feelings, his person, his goals; his fears at a new problem and his satisfaction with a new competency. He sees the learner as worthwhile. *Empathy* means that the teacher can understand the learner's feelings from the inside, as they appear to the learner; the teacher does not need to agree and approve, just understand. Let us look at an example in which these qualities can be clearly seen:

> Ramona, a Puerto Rican ten-year-old girl, was asked to read a few English sentences. She read so softly, she was barely audible. She stumbled over many words and finally stopped reading. She put her book over her face in embarrassment. The teacher said, 'Reading English aloud is not easy. There is fear of making mistakes and of being laughed at. It takes courage to stand up and read. Thank you, Ramona, for trying.' The next day, when Ramona was asked, she stood up and read. (Ginott 1972: 249)

The teacher is real in that she avoid useless praise and unhelpful encouragement such as, "That was fine, Ramona." (It probably wasn't and Ramona knew it.) The teacher praised Ramona for her courage, not her achievement. The teacher prized the learner in that she allowed the girl's fears to exist; she didn't make Ramona feel bad for feeling afraid. Statements like "Read it again and don't be afraid" do *not* allow these fears to exist. The teacher shows empathy in that she understood just how Ramona must have felt and she verbalized it, probably in a way that Ramona could not. Such statements as "That was fine" and "Don't be afraid", while well-intentioned, and certainly better than criticism or blame, just do not show the qualities in the teacher which are known to facilitate real growth, personal and academic, in the learner.

Realness, prizing, and empathy draw the person of the learner into the teaching-learning process. Learners are allowed to be as they are, a necesary step before one can continue growing. The decisive influence that the teacher can wield in the classroom can be utilized to create the psychological climate conducive to human growth.

Now that I have described humanistic teaching, I shall move on to explain student-centered teaching in the form of three basic propositions.

1. One definition of communicative competence has the learner able to accomplish his goals (usually non-linguistic ones) by appropriate use of verbal and non-verbal language. We are always communicating; indeed, we cannot *not* communicate. We usually have some purpose or goal; we want to influence others in some way, whether we are

conscious of our exact purpose or not. We want those we communicate with to respond in some way, perhaps by passing the salt, or returning our greeting, or supplying information, or looking shocked, and so on. To accomplish these goals, we have various symbol systems potentially at our disposal: use of time, use of space, body behavior, and language with its flexible linguistic structures which can be selected according to appropriate (i.e., effective for our purposes) sociolinguistic rules. A person is communicating competently when he or she can manage the various aspects of the communication process to achieve the desired response.

2. The goals (purpose) of the learner in the ESL classroom are not always the same as the goals of the teacher. This difference is noted by Harris in his historical overview of the ESOL field (1973: 78):

> . . . our behavioristic methodology has been challenged by the work of the psychologists and psycholinguistics. For what they have been telling us, particularly since the mid-sixties, is that in our zeal to drill, drill, drill our students, some of us have undoubtedly overlooked or at least grossly underestimated the fatigue and boredom factors [not to mention the unimportant and dull factors—]; and we have assumed too innocently that our students will accept the goals we have in mind for them, which we often do not articulate with much care or skill.

This difference in goals is not immediately obvious, so let us explore it rather concretely by listing in general some probable goals of each.

Teacher goals:

1) to cover a certain amount of material
2) to earn some money
3) to do a creditable professional job
4) to try out a new approach

Student goals:

1) to learn something worthwhile in English
2) to be able to use skills in English
3) to integrate new learnings into old ones
4) to make friends (maybe a girlfriend or boyfriend)
5) to get a better job (a distant goal)
6) to feel good about themselves
7) to gain recognition
8) to gain esteem
9) to be included by others
10) to be liked
11) to fulfill requirements
12) to have an "evening out" (especially adults)
14) to feel safe

Goals of both:

1) to relate satisfyingly with peers
2) to relate satisfyingly in the student-teacher relationship
3) to be affirmed as a person
4) to learn about the culture of others
5) to express oneself
6) to control one's own life.

While some of the student goals may also be teacher goals, probably none of the teacher goals are student goals. How then does a teacher center classroom activity around student goals?

Let me give two examples. First, the goal of making friends. Making friends requires that people gain some information about others and give out some information about themselves. This exchange could be accomplished by having students introduce themselves to some extent at the first class so some basis is laid for approaching another. Or have students solve a problem in small groups of their own choosing; usually they first manage to exchange basic information among their members. Second, the goal of expressing themselves. As Featherstone says, "everything that we know about human nature—and in particular the nature of children—points to the centrality of expressiveness" (Featherstone 1971). Use examples for drills that allow students to put in real information from their own lives, such as "I have good news . . ." or "The strangest thing I have seen in the U.S. so far is . . ." Have a hobby day or some kind of sharing activity. Teach them to give two-minute speeches whose only requirement is that they be interesting. In other words, as Finocchiaro says, ". . .learning takes place when it is related to the needs and experiences of the learner" (1964: 33) and "The content of the curriculum starts with the students *themselves* and with *their* environment. It is only by relating it to their own experiences that a new item becomes meaningful to them" (1964: 37). Build in opportunities for them to use language to achieve their goal of expressing themselves and of affiliating with others. Teacher goals, such as covering a certain structure, must be tailored to such legitimate student goals. Student talk comes from the goal of making friends, the goal of expressing oneself, and does not need much "motivation" from the teacher.

Macnamara (1973) explains the same idea from a slightly different focus. He criticizes formal language teaching severely for emphasizing talk that has no real goals, especially on the learner's part; the language classroom is set up so that there usually is nothing people want to accomplish by their act of communicating:

> The child learns his mother tongue by determining independent of language what his mother is saying to him and using the meaning to unravel the code. I am reasonably sure that the manner in which a child learns a second

> language in the street is basically similar . . . Sense is everything. In the classroom things are the other way about. Language is everything. The teacher has nothing important to say to the child, and the child has nothing important to say to the teacher. The whole design of the classroom runs against the grain of the *faculte de langage*, the natural device for learning a language. (Macnamara in Stern 1973: 280)

Thus, failure to learn occurs because learners have little or no impulse to communicate in this situation.

Elsewhere, Macnamara (1973) says that language teachers attribute success in language learning mainly to the motivation of the learner; that is to say, his or her goals. The nature of this motivation seems only poorly understood. Noting two basic motivational orientations, instrumental (to learn the language to accomplish professional or economic goals) and integrative (to learn the language to talk with speakers of that language), Macnamara takes a different approach, which:

> . . . demands that we look for the really important part of motivation in the act of communication itself, in the student's effort to understand what his interlocutor is saying and in his effort to make his own meaning clear. All this is not of course unrelated to a more general motivation to learn a language. The fact that superior attainment in a language is associated with integrative motivation argues for a close relationship; after all the integrative attitude is defined as a general desire to communicate with speakers of the new language. But more pressing for most students than a general desire to be able to communicate at some future date is a specific desire to be able to communicate in some actual situation where what is being communicated is of vital concern to the persons involved. It is in the exploration of such specific motivation that I look for substantial advances in language teaching. (64–64)

Let us note here that such spontaneous talk generated in the classroom in dyadic; that is, it involves at least two people, student-teacher or student-student. In contrast, there is very little room for spontaneous talk with a computer (although there is some interaction). As Brooks (1969) points out, language is not individual but dyadic behavior; communication is a relationship as well as a process. Language is first learned in relationship and it is used in relationship. Brooks goes on to say that language teachers see the central concern of bilingualism not as interference (as linguists do) or as code switching (as psychologists do), but as the ability to relate to one person in language A and to another language B.

3. The third basic proposition of student-centered teaching joins the first two: Learning what is necessary to know and to do to accomplish one's real-life goals leads to communicative competence. Such student-centered teaching can have powerful effects on the learner, "engaging" him by organizing classroom activity around goals meaningful to the student. This implies a focus of person-

centered communication rather than linguistic manipulations. Because classroom activities not only value but capitalize on the impulse to communicate, the student is engaged in purposive meaningful language use, exactly what so many people have been calling for as an excellent, even indispensable, way to develop communicative competence (Oller 1971, Paulston 1973, Rivers 1972). The subject matter, while controlled, is still the real concerns, thoughts, views, and feelings of real learners and teachers.

SUGGESTED CLASSROOM TECHNIQUES

Now let us turn from discussing humanistic and student-centered teaching to suggest practical ways to accomplish it. The essence, as I see it, is not so much what you do (various aspects of methodology) as in how you do it (empathy, prizing, realness). As Kennedy (1973) points out, of more concern than method should be materials which expose the learner to the language being learned and which exploit his or her motivation to communicate. When there is interest and excitement, people want to talk, they can't wait to talk, and all the teacher has to do is value their talk, supply focus and direction, and let it happen. Other suggestions, adapted of course to the level and interests of a specific group of learners, might be:

1) Have self-introductions by class members. Encourage others to ask questions, to get at attitudes and feelings as well as facts. (This is realness.)

2) Use oral or written sentence completion. This allows individual differences to be expressed (prizing), e.g., "Today I feel. . .", "If I were a millionnaire, I would. . .", "A perfect woman is one who. . .", "What frightens me most is. . ." Practice in specific grammatical structures is easily worked into this type of activity; e.g., the examples given here could be practice for, respectively: adjective complements, conditional clauses, adjective clauses, nouns or gerunds. Note also the difference in opportunity for expression of self in these two stems: a) "Since the discovery of fire. . ." b) "Since I came to the U.S. . . ." Which is more humanistic?

3) Have students submit two written sentences at the end of class, to you the teacher, on anything they wish. You get to know them this way (empathy) and see things from their point of view. Learners have offered such sentences: "My little daughter is sick and I am worried." "I liked the human contact." "Always I am tired." "I used to say to my husband, 'May I go.' Now I say, 'I will go.'" "When I go to Roy Rogers, I have to say hamburger platter many times; I lose my confidence, and for a while my mouth is shut." Opportunity for such human sharing seems valued by the students and

can supply many occasions for teacher-student and student-student interaction characterized by realness, prizing, and empathy.

4) Require ramblings. A rambling is defined as a response to anything you care to respond to, in any way you care to respond. It can be verbal or nonverbal; it can be a poem, a paragraph on how you feel about something, a sculpture, a knitted afghan, a ceramic pot, a way of dressing, a favorite snapshot, a song. The only thing ruled out is *no* response. Have students present their ramblings; accept and discuss them but do not attempt to evaluate anything so personal. (This activity takes in realness, prizing, and empathy.)

5) Let them show slides from their country, from travels in the U. S., of family, friends, parties (but be careful to generate talk, not a travelog).

6) Get small interest groups going from the class (knitting, tennis, photography, child rearing, teaching in various cultures), depending on their interests.

7) Have a "gripe" session.

8) Have a wish session.

9) Get native-speaking conversers.

10) Have students make a tape of their own.

11) Have a puppet show. Often people are more comfortable expressing themselves indirectly.

12) Do some creative role playing.

13) Use feedback sheets. These can take the form of half-sheets of paper with open-ended questions or sentence stems for completion; e.g., "The thing I liked best about class today was . . . ", Today I liked least . . . ", "I suggest . . . ", "I want to ask you . . . ", "I want to tell you . . . ."

These are just a few suggestions; you could come up with many more. Above all, draw examples and let them contribute examples and content from their own lives. Make their talk dyadic, purposive, and communicative. A few further comments may be useful. Often a teacher finds one or two modes and makes them work consistently for him or her, such as use of sentence completion or puppetry. These activities should not be saved until the end of class or kept optional; they should be the "stuff" the class is made of. A humanistic approach can be structured to fit the specific language skills you are teaching, for teacher goals are not to be ignored any more than student goals. All this takes is some thinking by the teacher on how to let the learners bring in their concerns and feelings. You really don't need to explain this approach to your students, although you can; chances are they will respond positively to almost any invitation to human interaction.

I might suggest two criteria that can be applied for using such activities: first, see if the activity involves true, real concerns or goals of the learners; and second, see if it requires a task or product of the learner which requires communication with another person.

The techniques suggested in this paper represent a practical humanism which organizes learning around student goals. A teacher's realness, prizing, and empathy can be expressed through such activities, and the learner's impulse to learn can be freed. This impulse to growth, which is the driving part of human life as the humanists see it, can then produce the spontaneous talk which leads to communicative competence.

Of course, no approach works equally well for all learners and teachers, and problems do arise, especially when people are unwilling or unable to relate to the others there in some minimal way. Usually such problems can be faced and worked out; indeed, working them out can be humanizing and productive of communicative competence. A practical humanism in the teacher can release enormous human potential in exactly the form of motivation needed for learning a language, and for this it is imperative that we give it broad and serious consideration.

Adapting Human Relations Training Techniques for ESL Classes

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To the best of our knowledge, this year's TESOL convention marks the first time that human relations and affect have been linked with English language teaching as the title for a group of papers. We believe that ESL teachers—all teachers for that matter—can only stand to benefit from augmenting their focus to include more direct concern for the people whom they purport to help—the learners. In 1975, in this era of concentration on human potential, human growth and human individualization, *not* to include this topic on the convention agenda might have made this organization appear, if not completely ostrich-like, somewhat out-of-date.

Our interest has been particularly drawn to the self esteem and self worth needs of young people and adults—students in junior and senior high schools as well as people in adult classes, the audience for ESL in large, urban public schools. Foreign students in high school are in some ways the same as other teenagers and in other ways different because of their cultural backgrounds. Sometimes we are so anxious to teach them correct structures in our ESL classes that we forget that they are, above all, human beings with human problems.

As most teenagers, they are going through the process of questioning themselves, wondering who they are, searching for relationships, being afraid of looking foolish or insecure. If a person does not have a strong self image of himself or herself to begin with, compounded with a fear of not being able to communicate orally in a new language, you have a youngster with little or no feeling of self worth.

Our profession has been typically more caught up with every aspect of teaching English than with the student's feelings and emotions, worries and uncertainties. ESL has usually been a head experience as it is dispensed in most of our classrooms. It has concentrated on thinking, analyzing, reasoning and verbalizing. In some cases, we have made the very setting of the ESL classroom an intimidating experience for students.

We are advocating a different approach than one that puts top priority for successful learning with either the method (in a narrow sense) or the materials. Instead, a human relations approach says that the basic necessity is a classroom atmosphere in which people feel comfortable, relaxed and accepted. A language class must have a prevailing mood which helps students to express themselves without constantly feeling pressure to produce correct or accurate language. It should be a place where there is an unspoken rule: communication comes first. In such a classroom everyone feels free to try out the new language for expressing real needs and concerns. The classroom should be a place where everyone can risk making errors; where, in fact, the learner enjoys the risk of speaking out.

For some time now we have been trying activities which are not designed specifically for ESL teaching, but rather for use with groups of people (like ourselves) who are concerned with building better interpersonal relationships, who are interested in finding more effective ways for talking about both positive and negative feelings, ways for expressing a variety of emotional and sensory experiences. There is a healthy, growing bibliography of such sources. They are the starting point from which we take off, adapting these strategies and activities to the unique needs of a language classroom.[1]

Human relations activities may not always be recognized for what, in fact, they are. Sometimes it is simply a matter of people in a class sitting in an arrangement which makes it possible for communication to take place. It is useful to say: "Let's sit in a small circle." In the circle we use an activity called "bragging." The teacher begins by asking someone to mention one good thing about himself or herself. This request is typically followed by a titter, laughter, and the response, "I can't."

Most of the students eventually offer at least one positive example. The teacher then asks for another "good thing," and another . . . and another. We keep asking until there are five or as many as you, the teacher, feel make the point that we all have some good characteristics.

Another activity is giving everyone a chance to experience validation from the group. We take turns using phrases such as: "I like you because . . . " "I like you when . . . " "I like your . . . " "I like the way you . . . " These openers are important because students will want to look at the teacher and say: "I like him because . . ." while indicating another student. It is necessary to point out that the speaker must look and speak directly to the person involved. It can be a moving moment to watch the glow that appears on the face of the "receiving person."

Role playing in a human relations context is focused on the participants' own experiences. For example, the group can suggest situations, either funny, sad, frightening or serious. The teacher prompts by giving some examples first. As the students volunteer their own situations, the teacher writes them down. These are filed on 3 × 5 cards. Then the cards can be used at various times.

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[1] C. Epstein 1972, E. Hunter 1972, H. R. Lewis and H. Streitfeld 1971, A. Maslow 1962, R. Masters and J. Houston 1970, J. W. Pfeiffer and J. E. Jones 1973, C. Rogers 1961, S. Sax and S. Hollander 1972, J. Schrank 1972, W. C. Schutz 1971, S. Simon, L. Howe and H. Kirschenbaum 1972, G. Stanford and B. D. Stanford 1972.

But not all students are ready for free-style role playing. They are the ones who often benefit the most from coupling interchanges: Each student is assigned a letter, A or B. The A's are told to find a B partner. Assigning A, B (or 1, 2 etc.) greatly simplifies choosing partners. Each A+B couple is instructed to move their chairs so that they are separated from other couples. Instructions for such a session might begin with this explanation: "You have to make a decision. You have a problem and are trying to decide something important. Tell your partner about that decision. You have one minute to think about it first." (It is important, by the way, to provide preparation time. But the period should be quite brief so that partners will really listen and not try to rehearse their own speech in anticipation.) After listening for a few minutes, the other partner says to the speaker: "That's a hard decision. But I'm sure you're going to make the right decision." The speaker can answer: "Thanks for your encouragement. I'm sure that I'll be able to make the decision."

Another good activity for couples is listening without comment. Students are instructed to pick a partner and speak for five minutes on any topic without interruption by the listener. After five minutes, the listener repeats to the speaker what he has just heard. As the group becomes more sensitive, the listener can be asked to tell the speaker how he thought the speaker *felt* when he spoke. Invariable, when students are asked what they learned from this activity, they report that it is not hard to speak or to repeat, but it is hard to be a listener without making comments.

Moving about physically aides spontaneous talk. An activity which incorporates physical movement procedes as follows: Students move their chairs so that the center of the room is clear. The teacher then explains that there is an imaginary line running through the center of the room. The members are asked to decide how they feel about a specific subject. A good topic for high school students might be the following: "Do you think that a girl should let a boy kiss her the first time they go out together?" The instructions are: "If your answer is 'no,' go to one end of the line. If your answer is 'yes,' go to the other end. If you are not sure, stand in the middle." Students have a minute or so to take a position.

Instructions continue: "Let's see if you can now convince someone to change his or her opinion and location in the line. Give reasons to those at the other end of the room as to why they should change their minds. If someone convinces you completely, if you change from a 'yes' to a 'no' answer, go over and stand with the 'no's.' If you are now undecided, go to the middle of the line. If you are slightly convinced, just move a little, a few feet toward the center." It heightens the excitement by giving points to each group which convinces a member of the opposite side. Frequently the 'yes's' will strongly question a person who left their group. Occasionally, the departing member tries to convince those remaining behind to switch to the other viewpoint.

We have given you a few examples of human relations strategies which we have used successfully in ESL classes, though we must admit that we cannot extend a fail-proof discovery procedure for adapting group interaction techniques which were designed for a different audience to the unique needs of a language class. But we can share some of our experience, or the finesse of adaptation, the how-to-do-it.

No, we have not carried out any controlled experiments with and without experiences in human relations activities, nor have we devised measures to test which groups might have communicated more effectively. Nevertheless, we feel fairly confident that reports of such endeavors may very well show up at these meetings in the next few years.

We can, however, report that with students with whom these types of activities have been used, enthusiasm and interest in just being there in the classroom was uniformly high. For many situations, we believe this is recommendation enough for teachers to expand their repertoire to include human relations activities.

Experience alone has provided us with a frame of reference, some guide-lines for isolating useful and adaptable ideas:

(1) We look for activities which because of the basic interaction which they call for will generate spontaneous language by creating a situation or contextualization which fits the interests and experiences of most of the participants. We try not to push students beyond where they are. But we do find that the more learners come to trust and validate their own feelings in an ESL classroom by sharing within the group, the more of this approach they want.

(2) The affective contexts which we look for deal with emotional states, moral and ethical values, personal and subjective feelings, characteristics of personalities (ourselves, the teachers, included), qualities of personal appearance, moods and feelings both negative and positive, and sense experiences such as touch, smell, sound, sight and taste.

(3) We look for personal growth activities which help us to deviate from stereotypical teacher vs. classroom, frontal teaching. We have found that with most classes it is wise to begin personal, sharing activities in one-to-one or pairing interactions. It is much less threatening to express feelings and values to one other person than to a whole group. And, of course, a great deal of language behavior which

is concerned with sharing of self is directed at one other person in whom we feel trust.

Next, talking within small groups of two or three or even four or six other people extends the possibilities for important sharing to take place. Finding a partner, or a group, by the way, becomes an activity in itself which activates both listening and controlled communication.

When the entire class carries out an activity together, there are many possibilities for the teacher's role to decrease and for the individual student's responsibility as leader to take over. Remember that important adage to ESL teachers of another era?: "Ask yourself at the end of the lesson, who talked the most, you the teacher, or the students?" In a human relations framework, the adage is: "Who had the most responsibility for the interaction, the students or the teacher?" If it is the former, the students, then consider the session a success.

(4) Classroom strategies which incorporate human relations as contexts are adaptable to a variety of time slots in a teaching plan: they become introductory or warm-up activities; they can extend through an entire classroom period; or, they can be maintained as ongoing activities which students benefit from participating in many times because each time they are repeated, the objectives are more accurately achieved by all.

(5) In working out guidelines or discovery procedures for successful adaptation, there is an underlying, essential factor: the teacher much feel comfortable participating in the activity. These suggestions are not for the person who is skeptical about relinquishing all visible signs of authority in the classroom. Nor is this approach recommended for the person who cannot tolerate risks, since in human relations activities the teacher must function both as a model and as a member of the group.

We know very well that effective teachers have always utilized what could be described as humanizing activities. Our suggestions here are in the direction of formalizing the approach by linking the practice to the output of another field—humanistic psychology.

There are going to be some other objections, we are sure, to our suggestions. We want to try to answer a few of the queries which may have already been turning around in your mind:

What language skills are you trying to teach? How do you include all of the skills?

Answer: By incorporating human relations training activities, we believe we come as close as anyone to fostering what the practitioners of our field call communicative competence, or the complete skill of using language for interactional behavior. We begin by setting the scene. We induce communication by making communication necessary, possible, gratifying and above all by encouraging a classroom atmosphere where everyone will want to talk. (By the way, we have found that human relations activities serve as excellent preparation for writing topics. But that could be the subject of another paper.)

No, we do not recommend a total switch-over to a human relations approach at the most beginning level. But some attention could be paid to feelings, for example, even at the most basic level. Instead of having students practice the contrast between present and past time by telling each other what they ate for breakfast yesterday and what they want to eat today, why not talk about how you felt yesterday and how you feel today?

We have found that in the ESL curriculum in Los Angeles secondary schools, at least, human relations activities can begin at any time as an accompaniment or enrichment to work on other language skills such as reading and writing. Certainly the contexts and vocabulary of the senses and of the feelings do not need to wait until advanced levels.

Isn't it dangerous to talk about personal feelings with people from a variety of cultures?

Not necessarily. There is far more universality when you talk about human emotions than when you deal with external realities of living.

In Los Angeles classes, many students from a variety of Latin American countries appear to be more in touch with feelings and sensory states than are many North Americans. But more than national or cultural background, the individual's personality and family history seem to count the most.

How do you structure and control the presentation of phonological and grammatical structures?

The presentation of specific grammatical structures is simply not our main interest. And besides, at the intermediate and advancing levels, our classes are usually made up of students who have had such disparate backgrounds that it is almost impossible for the teacher to begin at one place in a fictitious ESL table of contents and move everyone through a prescribed list of new structures. We are struck, too, with the discussions from the language acquisition field which suggest that people probably do not learn a second language in such an indexed manner anyway. Human relations activities attack the problem more experientially. Because of this quality, they seem particularly well suited for adult ESL courses where there is a lack of continuity in attendance. Whatever the learner experiences on those occasions when he or she is present is what matters.

We have pointed out in this paper that human relations activities offer exciting ways to induce freer and more spontaneous communication in our ESL classes. And beyond that goal, through human relations experiences, an atmosphere of closeness and mutuality can develop between everyone, teacher and student and among students themselves. Students find friendships within the group which did not exist before. They begin to interact naturally and comfortably with each other while, at the same time, using the new language for real communicative purposes. The strategy seems to work. At least it has for us. We invite teachers who are ready for this approach to try it for themselves.

Group Work and Communicative Competence in the ESOL Classroom[1]

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LINGUISTIC AND COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

The distinction between linguistic and communicative competence is well-established, and its importance for language learners and teachers becoming ever more widely recognized. The theoretical weaknesses in Chomsky's notion of competence, the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his/her language, have been pointed out by several writers, e.g. Campbell and Wales (1970) and Derwing (1973). Campbell and Wales have this to say:

> Although generative grammarians, in particular Chomsky, claim that their work is an attempt to characterize the nature of competence (that is, the nature of those human abilities that are specific to language), their main effort has in fact been directed towards a more restricted sort of competence . . . from which by far the most important linguistic ability has been omitted—the ability to produce or understand utterances which are not so much *grammatical* but, more important, *appropriate to the context in which they are made.* (247)

Hymes (1972:4) recognizes the importance of the creativity of language to which Chomsky draws attention but sees him as not going far enough:

> Creativity does include the construction of appropriate sentences independent of environmental stimuli, but Chomsky analyzes such creativity only as making sentences, not making sense. The fact that appropriateness is a relationship between sentences and contexts, requiring knowledge of both for its explanation, is left out of account.

Chomsky's competence is linguistic, and deliberately ignores performance, language in use for communication. The implicit knowledge of a language which it treats deals only in the generation of grammatically correct sentences. Hymes's concept of competence, on the other hand, emphasises the importance of the rules which fit speech for the social context in which it occurs. For Hymes—and it is suggested that the same is true for most foreign language teachers—

> [A] description that does not specify linguistic features in relation to a community of speakers, their repertoires and the uses of these, has hardly validity, relevance, or interest. (Hymes 1972: 5).

Native speakers and hearers of a language know all sorts of rules besides those governing the grammatical correctness of sentences.

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[1] I am grateful to Ronald Mackay for reading and suggesting improvements to an earlier draft of this paper.

They know, for example, when it is appropriate to be ungrammatical, when to say nothing, and when one of many notionally parallel but structurally different speech forms is appropriate for a particular speech act. There are, for example, a lot of choices available in *greeting* and *leave-taking*, but some will be unacceptable in any given context. Consider:

(1) University vice-chancellor : 'Morning, Smithers.
Assistant lecturer : *Hi!
(2) Wife : 'Bye, darling. I'll leave your lunch in the oven.
Husband : *It's been a great pleasure.
(3) General : Good luck, Pilkington. Remember, the honour of the Regiment depends on this mission.
Private Pilkington : *'Bye, sir. Have a nice day!

Native speakers and hearers know rules, in other words, which enable them to do things with language by relating linguistic forms to the social context in which they occur, and to judge the appropriateness of those forms in those contexts. These judgements may affect syntactic choices (*I've never* . . . as opposed to *Never have I* . . .), lexical choices (*Pass the sodium chloride* is acceptable in the science laboratory but not at table), and phonological choices (compare the articulation of a teacher's speech when addressing a student audience and when chatting to one of those students over coffee). People know rules, that is, which cause them to encode meaning in utterances they produce, or to decode it from utterances they hear, according to the way they perceive the situation bearing on those utterances. Failure to do this successfully can lead to a breakdown in communication at least as readily as can grammatical error. Consider the foreign student who accosts a native speaker with:

"Please, to railway station you tell me way?"

The chances are that the student will obtain the information requested despite the grammatical and phonological errors. Woe betide the student, on the other hand, who interprets an irate teacher's:

"Would you mind shutting up now?"

as a question. The speaker-hearer needs to learn the sociolinguistic rules which relate the interrogative form here to the situation in which it occurs and recode it rhetorically as a command. As Hymes (1970: 14) points out: "There are rules of use without which rules of grammar would be useless."

LINGUISTIC AND COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE IN THE ESOL CLASSROOM

The differences between the two competences or, rather, two aspects of the same underlying competence, reflect the discrepancy between the real *aims* of many foreign language students and the more limited kind of linguistic ability which commonly is their *achievement*. From many foreign language courses learners take away an ability to use the language grammatically correctly within the confines of controlled "skill-getting" (Rivers 1972) practice exercises. Their needs in the target language, on the other hand, involve the ability to use the language in acts of communication. In requiring this they are, in fact, asking no more or less of the language than do native speakers. It is surprising, therefore, that so much lip service has been paid in the language-teaching world to Chomsky's notion of (linguistic) competence. Lest Chomsky should live to become as misrepresented in the language-teaching literature as Skinner, however, it is worth reminding ourselves of his statement at the 1966 Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages:

> Once again I would like to stress that the implications of these ideas for language teaching are far from clear to me. (Chomsky 1966).

Equally surprising is the fact that many foreign language teachers still see their job as training students to jump through linguistic hoops in the form of a succession of textbook exercises and oral drills, where the only criterion of acceptability is grammatical and phonological accuracy, and the most optimistic outcome *linguistic* competence, (Littlewood 1974). At least *five* dimensions of the language produced in the classroom might well be considered important: (1) *grammatical and phonological accuracy,* (2) *appropriacy,* (3) *adequacy,* (4) *truth value,* and (5) *morality.*

In practice, students quickly learn that in the classroom *what* they say is of little importance to their teacher compared with *how* they say it. Hence, exchanges such as the following are often encountered in elementary classes. After several minutes of controlled practice of examples of the pattern *I've got a —,* using stimuli like *book, pen, desk,* and of the short form affirmative answer to the corresponding question, comes:

Teacher: Have you got any brothers or sisters, Pedro?
Pedro : Yes, I have.
Teacher: You have. Good. How many?
Pedro : Er no er I no . . .

Pedro's dilemma reflects the normal tendency on the part of his teacher to encourage or accept any answer so long as it satisfies dimension

(1) (grammatical and phonogolical accuracy). An utterance may do this yet still "fail" in that in a given situation it may not achieve its goal (McIntosh 1970). A despairing listener, for example, may be appropriately rude to a bore, but the bore may not notice. The utterance needs not only to be *appropriate,* therefore, but *adequate* in the sense of achieving its goal in a given situation. It also needs to be *true,* i.e. accurate information in the given situation, and *moral* in that it genuinely expresses the speaker's sentiments.

The interests of most foreign language learners, and especially of those learners of a foreign language for a so-called "special purpose" (Mackay 1975), lie ultimately in their learning how to use enough of the target language to satisfy their needs. This may involve their understanding the written form of that language in order to read novels or specialised texts relevant to their chosen subject of study, speaking enough of the language to get what they want in shops and hotels when on a holiday abroad, or, as is the case with many minority ethnic groups, knowing enough of the dominant language to survive in the environment of the second language culture. The last is especially serious in the case of young children running the gauntlet of an educational system callous with regard to their language problems, and can lead to educational failure when varieties of *one* language are in opposition, let alone two distinct languages.[2] Clearly, for learners such as these, an ability to understand and produce correct sentences is only partly relevant to their everyday communicative needs. In the street, the school or university, in books, articles and newspapers, in shops, cinemas and theatres, in the tourist quarter, or wherever language is used rather than studied, what is important is the appropriateness, adequacy, truth, and morality of utterances situationally, their role in the continuing flow of discourse of which they are a part—their success as communication—and their "goodness of fit" in the linguistic environment, or text.

It is here that the connection between communicative competence and Hallidayan theory is most obvious. Consider Halliday's "textual function" of language:

> (T)he textual function is what enables the speaker or writer to construct texts or connected passages of discourse that are situationally relevant, and enables the listener or speaker to distinguish a text from a random set of sentences. (Halliday 1970: 143).

However, as Widdowson (1973: 72) has pointed out, there is an important distinction to be made between *text* and *discourse,* used here interchangeably by Halliday, as by some other workers. Students need to learn *textual cohesion* (see Hasaan 1968), e.g. ellipsis, and also what Widdowson calls the *rhetorical coherence* of utterances in the performance of acts of communication. They need to learn not simply the isolated *formal* linguistic features associated with a particular variety of English, to which register studies commonly draw attention, e.g. the high incidence in "scientific" English of the passive voice, certain conditional forms, and areas of specialised lexis, but also the *communicative functions* of language used by scientists, e.g. defining, classifying, generalising, hypothesising and deducing. There is not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence between such communicative functions and any particular linguistic form, or with any particular linguistic unit, such as the sentence.

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[2] See, e.g. Barnes (1969, 1973), Britton (1970), Bernstein (1971), Creber (1972), Rosen (1973). This situation also makes Chomsky's definition of the scope of linguistics as concerning a "completely heterogenous speech community" (Chomsky 1965) somewhat distant from the reality lived by thousands of students and their teachers, as Cazden (1970), among others, has pointed out.

OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF ACQUISITION BY STUDENTS OF COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

Traditional Exercise and Drill Material

Too many traditional textbook exercises and drills train students to produce a random set of grammatically correct sentences. Consider this extract from an exercise in a recent book for intermediate students of English as a foreign language:

> Change the verbs in the following sentences into the Passive Voice:
> (a) An announcer is reading the news.
> (b) Horses pull carts.
> (c) The Queen is opening that hospital next week.
> (d) The headmaster is making a speech.
> (e) A policeman is using the telephone.
> (f) A greengrocer sells potatoes.
> . . . .
> (j) Several small boys are feeding the monkeys. (Low 1974: 18)

No reference is made as to why there exist both active and passive voice forms in English, or as to in what circumstances the *use* of one is preferable to the other, i.e. where one is appropriate and the other not, or less so. There is nothing to connect these sentences semantically, and clearly no feeling on the author's part that there need be. (It is curious, in the light of this, that she should have felt it appropriate to use several examples of deictics—*The* Queen, *that* hospital, etc. which assume a prior mention of the item referred to.) There is nothing unusual in this. On the contrary, countless EFL textbooks have been written along these lines for decades.

In an important article in 1972, H. G. Widdowson drew attention to the sterility of much of the so-called situational presentation of grammatical structure widespread in English language teaching. Using examples reminiscent of those quoted above, e.g. students repeating "He's writing on the blackboard" as the teacher or another student did so, Widdowson asked:

> (But) what kind of communicative function do these sentences have in these situations? They are being used to perform the act of commentary in situations in which in normal circumstances no commentary would be called for. Contextualism of this kind, then, does not demonstrate how sentences of this form are appropriately used to perform the communicative act of commentary. What is being taught is signification, not value. (17).

Increasingly, teachers and textbook writers accept this sort of statement, and are devising material oriented accordingly. It is suggested, nevertheless, that they will still be hard put to equip their students with communicative competence so long as a lockstep system is the standard way in which they organise their students' immediate learning environment.

Traditional Forms of Classroom Organisation

The teacher who attempts to conduct a large, heterogenous group of (say) thirty secondary age EFL students[3] through a language programme *as one unit* is obliging all students to cover the same ground at the same time, and at the same pace, via the same approach, method and technique, and using the same material. This clearly fails to take into account the importance of individual differences inevitably present in such a large group of learners, differences such as age, sex, intelligence, language-learning aptitude and experience, interests, attitudes, motivation, and learning styles. Worst of all, as far as the day-to-day problem of "keeping order" is concerned for such a teacher, while oral work is in progress, 29 out of 30 of these students will be "unemployed." Even charismatic teachers gifted enough to move swiftly and meaningfully from one language practice activity to another with the minimum of classroom management problems will still be battling to hold the attention of 30 students simultaneously and for long periods of time. The teacher is like a juggler trying to keep 30 balls in the air at once, with very little time for any one of them as there are 29 others to take care of. Hence, the need felt for student production to be limited to *isolated sentences.*

The Quality of Language Commonly Elicited in Classroom Language Learning

In addition to the prevalence of short, one-sentence student production in classes such as these, a basic pattern runs through most teacher-student verbal interaction. It can be represented (in greatly simplified form) as follows:

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[3] Thirty students would, of course, constitute a relatively *small* group in all too many EFL situations. See, e.g. Long (1975).

(1) *teacher stimulus*—usually in the form of a question, e.g. "What's the woman with the shopping-basket doing?"
(2) *student response*—usually in the form of an answer to the teacher's "question," e.g. "She's buying some apples."
(3) *teacher evaluation of student response*—usually consisting of positive reinforcement, e.g. "Yes," "Mm," or "Good." (Reinforcement is usually positive, for this sort of teacher is generally expert at so designing his/her students' language practice that they have little opportunity for making mistakes.)

In addition to the controlled "skill-getting" practice that is going on here, several other principles of classroom foreign language learning are being transmitted. The following are among them, and together they make up part of what might be called the "classroom foreign language learning socialisation package."

(1) The teacher shall be initiator of language exchanges.
(2) The student's job is to respond to the teacher's initiation.
(3) The teacher is the arbiter of acceptable student performance.
(4) His/her judgements are made in terms of the grammatical and phonological accuracy of what the student says.
(5) The truth value of what students say is relatively unimportant. (Most teachers ask questions to which they already know the answers. As Ervin-Tripp (1971) has pointed out, this is in sharp contrast with the teaching that goes on by mothers of their young children, where even the most outrageous grammatical errors are seldom corrected, but where attention is paid to the truth value of what their children say.)
(6) The standard of grammatical correctness required is, from the beginning, that of the mature adult native speaker. (Anything short of this may be *tolerated,* but whether "corrected" or not, implicitly or explicitly, is *wrong.*)[4]

How, then, is the ESOL teacher to break with what is still the overriding textbook concern with sentences, and with the classroom tradition of striving for grammatical accuracy, and to develop in his/her students, in addition to linguistic, communicative competence?

THE ROLE OF GROUP WORK

As has already been pointed out, a major factor underlying the sort of classroom teaching described above is the need which the lockstep teacher feels to "keep the ball rolling." A lively pace is imperative or attention will begin to wander. The use of small group work is often advocated as the "solution" to the problem since perhaps its most obvious quality is the facility it offers for active participation by a number of students simultaneously. While not the miracle detergent designed to wash all ESOL classrooms clean of the difficulties outlined, group work does seem to promise help.

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[4] This, and the "basic pattern" running through most teacher-student verbal interaction is a simplification. That there are far more complex rules to be learned by any student aspiring to participate in classroom discourse, (e.g. "bidding" to speak, waiting to be nominated by the teacher to do so, etc.) has been convincingly shown by the discourse analysis team at the University of Birmingham, (Sinclair, *et al.*, 1972).

Firstly, the problem of student talking time can be solved, in principle at least, by allowing several students to talk simultaneously in small groups, without disturbing their neighbours or neighbouring classes. Freed from the pressure of their fellows and the teacher, inevitable in lockstep practice, to produce the short, correct answer quickly, individual members of small groups of (say) two to four students can each indulge in talk spanning *series* of sentences. This has the immediate payoff of creating the need and opportunity for practice in the use of textually cohesive devices such as intersentence linkers.

Secondly, not just the quantity but the quality of language commonly produced in the intimate setting of a small group of age peers is capable of greater variety than that commonly achieved in lockstep practice. This has been demonstrated in the context of native-language learning by some fairly recent work carried out in British primary and secondary school classrooms. Of particular interest, Douglas Barnes of the University of Leeds has drawn attention to the facility small group work offers for students to engage in "exploratory" talk.

> An intimate group allows us to be relatively inexplicit and incoherent, to change direction in the middle of a sentence, to be uncertain and self-contradictory. What we say may not amount to much, but our confidence in our friends allows us to take the first groping steps towards sorting out our thoughts and feelings by putting them into words. I shall call this sort of talk 'exploratory'. (Barnes 1973: 19).

The characteristics of "exploratory" talk described by Barnes are those of language people use when trying to communicate, rather than when they are engaged in the mechanical production of practised verbal formulae, as in a drill situation. In his studies of small groups of children talking in primary and secondary school classrooms, Barnes (1969, 1973) found a high incidence of pauses, hesitations, stumbling over new words, false starts, changes of direction, and of expressions of doubt (*I think, probably,* etc.). This was the speech of children "talking to learn," talking, in other words, in a way and for a purpose quite different from that in which they would commonly engage in a full-class session. There, the "audience effect" of the large class, the perception of the listening teacher as "judge," and the need to produce the short, polished "finished article" would all serve to inhibit this kind of language. Tellingly, Barnes draws attention to another factor:

> It is not only size and lack of intimacy that discourages exploratory talk: if relationships have been formalised until they approach ritual, this, too, will make it hard for anyone to think aloud. Some classrooms can become like this, especially when the teacher controls very thoroughly everything that is said." (Barnes 1973: 19).

Release from the need for "accuracy at all costs," in other words, and entry into the richer and more accomodating set of relationships provided by small group interaction allows development of the kind of personalised, creative talk for which, theoretically at least, most ESOL courses are endeavoring to prepare their learners.

Thirdly, *uses* of language, e.g. to define, hypothesise, classify promise, apologise, command, etc. obviously depend, too, on the language *roles* students are free to adopt. It is optimistic to hope that students will hypothesise as long as they are limited to answering questions to which everyone already knows the answer, and while they are restricted to one sentence every ten minutes, the form of which is treated as more important than the content. How to offer this kind of practice is a serious problem, as is indicated by the almost total ignoring of part 5 of Hornby's "Patterns and Usage," which listed these 'Concepts and how to use them' several years ago. It is difficult, similarly, for a student to learn to command or promise as long as the only talking he or she does is to the teacher, in public, and as responses to teacher initiated exchanges. It is suggested that, again, an essential step is the organisation of the immediate learning environment so as to allow learners to adopt roles commonly associated with the communicative functions of language it is hoped they will acquire.

Physically placing students in small groups is a necessary but not sufficient condition for this. Experience suggests that care needs to be taken regarding the size, manner of formation, structure and composition of the groups used, and over the activities performed in them. Unless teachers allow either friendship, interest, or sociometric grouping, for example, they run the risk of imposing as arbitrary a composition on the small groups as that which prevailed in their lockstep class. They may thereby deny some students just that degree of confidence won through work on an intimate basis with *chosen* classmates which is the intended purpose of the grouping. Similarly, some degree of flexibility is desirable as regards group size. Existing "natural" groupings among students based on such factors as friendship, respect, dislike, and mutual interests are unlikely to divide a class of 30 neatly into (say) six groups of five (Long forthcoming). A willingness to allow group size to vary among groups, and from one session to another in any one group, may lead to higher socio-emotional satisfaction among members and thence, to higher achievement. Again, while little research has been carried out in the foreign language classroom on the effect of various structures on group performance, experimental work by social psychologists in other settings suggests that more centralised communication networks, e.g. the Wheel, are more efficient with *simple* tasks; but more diffuse networks, e.g. the Circle, are superior with *complex* tasks, and that in decentralised networks socioemotional satisfaction is higher (Shaw 1964). The kind of problem-solving tasks about to be suggested for group work for the purposes currently under discussion may be classified as complex, suggesting the use of a decentralised network. However, two questionnaire surveys of 152 EFL students' attitudes to group work they had experienced with centralised and decentralised networks showed no significant differences in socio-emotional satisfaction, attitudes to group work being highly positive in both conditions (Long 1974).

Especially careful attention needs to be paid to the activities performed by students in groups. Here, materials have a vital role to play. It seems to be possible, for example, to structure simulation exercises of various kinds so as to facilitate the adoption by students of roles with which are associated the communicative functions of language it is intended that they learn. Let us suppose, for example, that work has been done with student biochemists on some of the linguistic forms used by scientists when describing simple laboratory experiments. The following instructions, printed on work cards or communicated orally, are presented separately to three small groups of learners.

GROUP ONE (two to four students):

(1) Imagine that you are the members of a small, unknown research team in a Mexican university who have just discovered a new way of producing a food which is highly nutritious, cheap, and easy to produce, especially in hot countries.

(2) Your discovery is really quite simple, (which is why it was not discovered before), but for this very reason no one will believe you.

(3) Your University Department does not possess the funds for you to continue your research. You must, therefore, interest financially in your discovery (1) a food manufacturer, and (2) an eminent biochemist, the director of a commercial laboratory.

(4) Plan together how you will explain the process for producing the food to (1) the biochemist, and (2) the businessman. You may need to be able to illustrate the laboratory process with a drawing for the food manufacturer (who is not a scientist) and possibly for the laboratory director, too.

(5) You must persuade the food manufacturer and the laboratory director to give you as much money for the research as possible.
(6) Your first job is to "discover" a new way of producing a food!

GROUP TWO (two to four students):
Independently, this group receives the same set of instructions. Neither Group One nor Group Two know that each has the same brief.

GROUP THREE (two students):
(1) You, (student's name), are a biochemist, director of a commercial laboratory specialising in food technology.
(2) You, (student's name), are the owner of a factory which processes and cans food.
(3) Two groups of individuals visit you, each claiming to be scientists who have just discovered a wonderful new way of producing a food which is cheap, easy to produce, highly nutritious, and readily processed in hot countries!
(4) You do not know if (a) they really are scientists, or (b) if they have really made the discovery they claim. ("Scientists" often visit you in an attempt to interest you financially in their research.)
(5) Discuss together how you will find out if they are telling the truth, or are confidence tricksters. (How will you check on them and their story? Can they explain the laboratory process involved in producing the food to each of your satisfactions? Is their discovery practical? What questions will you ask them?)
(6) How much money would each of you be prepared to commit to one or both of the research teams?

It will be seen that the simulation involves a problem-solving exercise for all of the participants on at least two levels. First, each student has to solve the problems posed by the instructions, e.g. thinking of a way of producing the food, or of a way of testing out the visitors. Second, unknown to the groups of students, additional communication needs to have been created through certain information having been withheld from some students, e.g. the fact that there is a rival research team competing for the same money, and through the same information being presented "in a different light" to different students, e.g. the discovery being presented as a scientific breakthrough to the research workers, but as yet another request for money to the businessman and laboratory director. An inferential gap has been created, establishing a need and, therefore, the necessary motivation for communication among the students. The outcome of the role-playing can be perceived by the students in concrete terms, as they will obtain (or not) or give (or not) a specific sum of money depending upon how convincing the research workers are with their description of the laboratory process and with their persuasion of the biochemist and laboratory director. This simulation was presented to a group of student biochemists intending to undertake postgraduate studies in an English-speaking country. Students of English for science and technology requiring only a reading comprehension knowledge of the foreign language could use a variation on this kind of simulation adapted for written communications.

The simulation described is so structured as to involve the participants in describing and understanding a description of a laboratory process, but in addition, opportunities are provided for the use of language to persuade, challenge, express disbelief, command, insist, and joke. Further, the way in which the laboratory process is described needs to vary according to the presumed scientific sophistication of the listener. Here we are getting close to the marking of the various features of situation involved in verbal interaction. It should be possible systematically to vary features of this kind through the use of modified "reruns" of role-playing situations, drawing students' attention to the variations, and to the kinds of changes this may make in the language used by them. This possibility has been hinted at before by Smith (1971) who observed that "role-playing could lead to practice in different styles of speech for different occasions" (34). All writers on the subject of role-playing stress the need clearly to establish in the students' mind at least the *where, when,* and *who* of the context (Smith 1971: 32), describing it as "a cognitive mapping of the terrain", and (Ciotti 1969: 77) speaking of "the importance of three-factor input of listener-speaker-context." The process seems desirable if role-playing is really to serve, as I believe it can, as a means of "trying language on for size," as a way for students to learn how to use appropriately, adequately, truthfully and morally what they know grammatically correctly, i.e. as a forum for acquiring communicative competence. Just as it is increasingly argued that, with mature students, explicit reference to formal linguistic markers can reduce the time taken by learners to sort out the formal grammatical features of the target language, so might it not equally be the case that explicit reference to sociolinguistic features could serve the purpose of helping them to perceive and understand how speech forms need to be selected according to social context?

Space forbids, and anyway it is not the intention of this paper to provide a detailed classroom methodology for the use of role-playing or other simulation techniques. Several good accounts are available in the literature, e.g. Cole (1970), Salisbury (1970), Smith (1971), Taylor and Walford (1972), and Raz (1974). Consideration might be given to the possibility of developing simulation materials selected and graded not only according to situation, as is customary, but according to the communicative functions of language it is hoped students will acquire. While a "common core" of such functions exists, (Wilkins 1972), this would presumably lead, at the post-intermediate level, to the provision of materials for English for special purposes.

McIntosh (1965) has convincingly demonstrated how artificial it is to purport to predict linguistic forms from knowledge of situation, but I hope to have suggested that the same approach with communicative functions of language is both more feasible, and relevant to students' needs. Nevertheless, here, as with so many areas of language teaching, there is a critical lack of experimentation (as opposed to innovation). Work is needed in the ESOL classroom similar to that done in native language learning classrooms in British primary and secondary schools by Barnes and the Rosens. It would be helpful to know exactly what differences occur, for example, in the language produced by learners of English as a foreign or second language when they are working in teacher or student supervised small groups as opposed to small groups supervised by one or neither, and if this contrasts as strikingly with the language of lockstep teaching as I have suggested, and as the British work would lead us to believe. Until such time as this and other work is carried out, teachers might do well to adopt a pragmatic attitude in their own classrooms, and a healthy skepticism towards the legislators who adorn the pages of journals and conference platforms!

Methodology in a Community ESL Class

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An effective ESL class should provide a curriculum based on principles of second language learning and students' needs, managed so that each student progresses at a rate consistent with his or her ability and time he or she spends in class. An effective ESL teacher should develop teaching methods flexible enough to take advantage of the special characteristics of a particular class.

When I prepared to teach the West Berkeley Community Language class three years ago, I considered myself pretty well up on "principles of second language learning" and audio-lingual methodology, for I had been studying and teaching ESL at San Francisco State College for three years. But on that first day—as twenty Chicano women began squeezing through the broken door of an almost abandoned recreation center, helping each other lift strollers up into the room, preventing toddlers' fingers from being mashed in the door, while two or three uncertain-looking young men stood shyly by, not quite sure that this could be the English class they had been told about— I wasn't so sure I even knew how to begin.

And it certainly did take some time to develop effective methods of work adapted to this class with its very special opportunities and problems.

The class met two hours every morning. There were fifteen to twenty students, aged 18 to 90, all Spanish-speaking, all but one or two from Mexico, the majority housewives, and three or four young men attending the class after night jobs. Some student attended regularly every day, but others, beset with domestic problems and responsibilities, were quite irregular in attendance.

The students varied greatly in English proficiency, as they did in literacy in their own language. Some had three years or less of schooling while others were better educated. They had one problem in common—a conviction of mental inadequacy. They were unaware of the real reason for their inability to function in English: cultural differences, lack of opportunity to hear and speak due to isolation, and prejudice on the part of members of the dominant Anglo culture. The fact that their husbands and children had picked up the language for better or worse on the job, at school, or on the playground only added to their feelings of inferiority. And some of the students had the added burden of previous lack of success in regular ESL adult classes.

GROUP INSTRUCTION AND INDIVIDUALIZATION

The problems of irregularity of attendance and heterogeneity of language ability called for individualization of instruction. However, the *group* learning situation was invaluable in overcoming the most serious problem: lack of self-confidence. Working together as a group helped to build a feeling of mutual trust, crucial to people whose every attempt at coping with English seemed a frightening test of intelligence. There was no doubt that mutual trust existed in this class when one day the students began swapping stories about extremely embarrassing, sometimes disastrous, linguistic faux-pas or lack of understanding, and on the occasions of general jubilation when one of the students with a severe language learning problem was able to pronounce a word she had been struggling over for a week, thus making a "big leap forward."

The class, therefore, always began with a group session, and learning methods which combined group and individualized situations were developed.

For *group to individual response*—Each class began with routine drills, some of them always carried out in the same way so that everyone felt secure. Group response was well set before individual responses were called for. No student was called on individually if he or she was not ready and confident.

Every student a teacher—All students learned how to manipulate the basic teaching materials: the "Michigan" flash cards and the vocabulary charts (similar to the "Michigan" charts.) Using these materials the students could lead pattern drills, thus obtaining needed individual practice on particular items. For example, a student might need special practice on asking informational questions (having difficulty using *do* and *does*). He, therefore, could be chosen to lead a drill using a chart, asking "What do you want?"

One lesson—different levels—It was found to be possible without creating too contrived a situation to combine practice of syntax at different levels in one lesson by (a) varying the kind of response required of different members of the group; (b) differentiating between productive and receptive skills; and (c) doing a pattern drill involving different structural items.

FLEXIBLE TEACHING METHODS

Along with the rigid routines of pattern exercises there had to be a flexible approach to students' learning styles. Some students with very little schooling always wanted to *see* the material learned orally. At the same time care had to be taken not to frighten other students by too much reliance on the written word. Some transcribed everything to be learned into their own phonetic writing. (I learned *their* system and often used it in solving pronunciation problems.) And for others it was very important to learn correct English spelling.

Grammatical explanations seemed important to some students. Bilingual grammatical explanations were often given, comparing the structure of the two languages in explaining one grammatical point. This seemed to help develop understanding of and respect for the students' language. These people thought of their own language as something only "ignorant" people like themselves spoke.

INDIVIDUALIZED STUDY

At least half the class period was devoted to individual and small group study. Since the students were trained in ESL teaching methodology they were able to study by themselves, work with other students, or tutor less advanced students. Anytime a school-aged child accompanied his mother to class he was also trained to use our materials and to help the adult students. (The children usually worked helping their own mothers.)

CURRICULUM AND MATERIALS

As curriculum we adapted the structural sequence of LADO ENGLISH SERIES, Book 1 and 2, and developed vocabularly according to the students' needs. The curriculum is in the form of a numbered list of structural and vocabulary (or situational) items.

A corresponding kit of learning materials, consisting of ditto exercises, mini study charts, etc. was developed—each piece numbered with the corresponding curriculum item number. From this file, materials could be provided to students according to need for class or home study.

To insure mastery of structures or vocabularly items there must be continuous integration of these items with material already learned, a difficult task of organization when not all students can attend regularly. We began a system of record keeping showing the extent of work of each student on specific curriculum items. A parent returning to class after a three week bout with family flu could therefore start from where he or she left off according to the record.

In our class we attempted to retain a highly structured curriculum and, by flexibility of methods and individualization of instruction, to meet the special needs of the students.

GENERAL ESOL TEACHING TECHNIQUES

ESL Communication-Starters

JUDY BELL OLSEN
Alemany Community College Center, San Francisco

INTRODUCTION

There may have been a time when everyone really believed that Audio-Lingual methods alone would produce competent speakers of a language, but I suspect that that time has, for the most part, passed—particularly for those who have been actively teaching a language for any length of time.

Something is needed beyond the dialogues and drills that introduce and reinforce grammar while saying nothing of interest, and something is needed beyond the inevitable reading-and-questions-about-it that comprise the "other half" of many ESL classes. Students need practice in using English for real communication—for saying something that is meaningful to them—and it is up to the teacher to provide the "spark" for that communication to begin.

In some classes the spark is already there. There are a few particularly verbal students, perhaps, who always get things started (and probably dominate any ensuing conversation) or, if the teacher is really lucky, the class as a whole is able to respond easily to vague beginnings like "What do you thing about . . .?" or "Let's talk about . . ." But in other classes, getting conversation going—any conversation—can be difficult indeed.

Why is it so hard to get some classes—or some students—to open up? Three partial answers come to mind. First, the general atmosphere of the class may stifle spontaneity. Stimulating real conversation depends as much on an attitude as on any particular method. If we expect students to listen, drill on command, and then shut up, we may well be disappointed at how little and how poorly the words and ideas flow when we say, "Okay, discussion time. You can talk now."

Second, we may be trying to begin communication on too abstract a level. The language proficiency level of the class may not permit students to deal with an idea expressed in another language—they may need a more immediate stimulus of a sound, a picture, or a task-oriented situation. Third, we may be trying to start with too large a group. Most of us, I'm sure, feel more comfortable talking to a group of three or four than to thirty or forty, and the feeling is certainly magnified when dealing with a new language.

What follows is a collection of "communication-starters" that I've been gathering for the last few years, ever since I realized that I didn't know how to get a class discussion started. I've learned that there are a lot of preliminaries before most classes are ready for a full-blown discussion. I've also realized that many of these preliminaries provide more meaningful and interesting avenues for communication than most class discussion topics, and that the skills involved in these preliminaries are probably more useful for "real life English" than any class discussion. And I've come to have particular respect for the techniques that require all the students to participate, not just the few talky types.

WARMERS UPPERS

1. **"Hot Seat"** (Thanks to Ruth L. Cathcart, Alemany Community College Center)

One student sits in front, facing the class. The others ask the student in the "hot seat" questions about him/herself—questions about the student's life, opinions on controversial issues, etc.

2. **Interview-Introduction** (Thanks to Alice Gosak, San Francisco)

Students are divided into pairs (if possible, the pairs should consist of students who do not speak the same language). Students interview each other, then introduce each other to the class.

3. **Responding to Sounds** (Thanks to Jim Koeker, Creative Environment Center, SFUSD)

Students listen to sounds on record or tape, write down their impressions, then share them with the class. Some will respond with single words or short phrases; others may be inspired to compose a short story. What is important here is the inspiration, rather than the production . . . certainly, a familiar sound, smell or taste can inspire much stronger feelings more quickly than an abstract idea expressed in a language that is not your own.

One source of sound-effect recordings is *Major Records, c/o Thomas J. Valentino, Inc., 151 W. 46th Street, New York, New York 10036.* About 20 different sound-effects recordings are available from this company. You may also be able to get sound-effects recordings through your local library or a good hifi-radio equipment shop. And of course, you can make recordings of your own—of a telephone ringing, water dripping, water running and splashing, footsteps in different environments, the sound of traffic, etc.

4. **Class Story**

Tell the class that you all will compose a story together. Each person will be responsible for one line in the story, which he/she may give at any time. Obviously, each person's sentence is determined in part by what has already been said by other students. As the students make their sentences, you write them down on the blackboard. At the same time, have one student acting as recorder, taking down the sentences on a ditto master, if possible. (I brought my typewriter to school for the student recorder to use—the work went much faster). When the story is completed (it's fun if you add a line of your own somewhere too), you can run off the ditto master and give a copy to each of the students. For homework, they can write and revise the sentences as they see fit, and arrange the narrative into paragraphs.

This exercise can be a good beginning step to encourage communication between the students. They need to listen to each other to develop the story, and it can help bring them together, to feel more like a unit. At the same time, there's a minimal demand on each student for actual production—each person only needs to produce one sentence.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT: How much opportunity do we really give our students to communicate in our class? How often do they have a chance to say anything to us that might be important to them? Do they speak at all outside of drills or question-and-answer sessions about their readings? Do we expect them to be quiet most of the time and then magically open up when we say "Discussion Time?"

5. **Journal-writing** (Thanks to Shirley LaMere, Alemany Community College Center, and Tom Tragardh, John Adams Community College Center)

This is a psychological warmer-upper. Give your students a little time, maybe 15 minutes, at the beginning of class two or three times a week, to write anything—anything at all—in English. Keep their papers at your desk in folders and read them once every two weeks or so, and respond to their writing with a sentence or two. You are establishing individual communication with that student, letting him/her know that his/her ideas and actions are important (it can make your class more interesting for you, too, to know what's on your student's minds and what's happening to them. *Do* take your own notes on sentences with errors common to the class, however, for your own use in planning future grammar lessons.

6. **Corrections of Sentences in Journals** (Thanks to Ruth Portnoy, John Adams Center, for the small-group corrections idea)

You can make this a class activity by putting on the board a few of the sentences with errors common to the class and asking the class to tell you how to correct them. Composers of the sentences remain anonymous, of course.

OR: You can put about ten of these sentences with errors on a ditto master and run off copies from the class. Divide the class into groups of three or four and give them 15–20 minutes to discuss the sentences and correct them; then come together as a large group and compare corrections.

OTHER SMALL-GROUP ACTIVITIES

Getting students into small discussion groups or problem-solving groups can do a lot to break the ice. Here are other activities, good for smaller groups, that are still somewhat manipulative, that is, the language used is still somewhat under your control.

7. **Picture-Grids** (Introducted at the Denver TESOL Convention by John Schumann, see Schumann 1975)

Two students each have a grid of about 1 or 1-½ inch squares marked on cardboard or heavy manila paper. Student A has a grid with pictures pasted on it; Student B has an empty grid and the same picture as A, but loose (not mounted on a grid). Student B must not see A's grid. A tells B where to put his/her picture so that B's grid will look like A's. In doing so, A must describe the pictures and their placement exactly, in English, without gesturing in any way. Other students may watch and make comments on the progress of the game, but they must use English and may not gesture in any way. (Sometimes the kibitzers get more involved than the players.)

To make: You need several manila folders, a pen and ruler (for the grids); clear contact paper if possible, scissors, and two copies of the same magazine issue (for the pictures). Any picture magazine will do. Be sure when you cut out the identical pictures that they are the same size. One is pasted on grid, the other is pasted on cardboard and cut out to be used as a card.

You can make this a very simple game for beginners by choosing pictures that are very different from each other, or make it more difficult by choosing pictures that are much alike, which would require more complicated grammatical structures to describe them (e.g., "the woman who is cooking" vs. "the woman who is typing" vs. "the woman who is carrying a briefcase" or "the dog that is being held" vs. "the dog that is being bathed," etc.)

Since making and using these grids, I've learned that this general technique was used in intensive language training for the military in World War II—using models of military equipment on field maps!

Jacaranda Press (872 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass. 02139) has recently come out with a nice kit of graded communication games of the picture-grid variety. It is intended to go with their Individual Language Arts Program for elementary school, but the games themselves could be used at a number of levels. About 32 games in the kit for $102.00 (at the time of this writing). Whether or not you think your school can afford it, the kit is really worth looking at.

8. **Map Exercise**

Purpose: To give students experience in following directions and giving them; to give practice in general map-reading skills; to inspire conversation about a particular place; and perhaps use in a field-trip orientation.

Preliminaries:

a) Make a list of all place-names on the maps you are using.

b) Add to the list any words or phrases that might be used in giving directions, such as "around the corner from..................," "go straight until you come to....................and make a right."

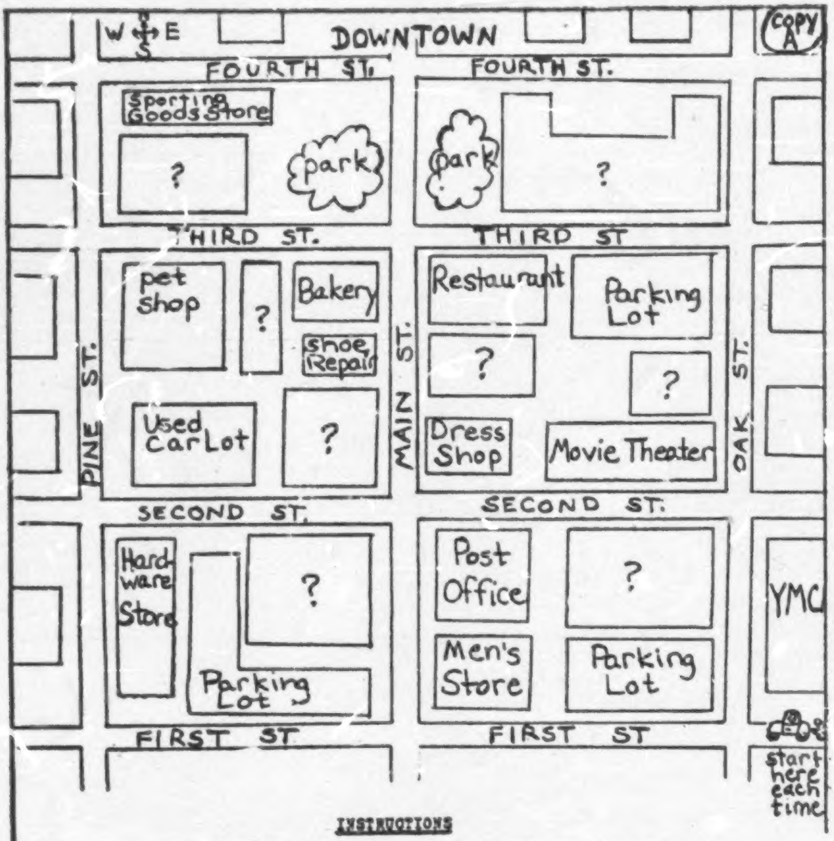
c) Go over the list with the class for comprehension and pronunciation (they'll have to make themselves understood in direction-giving, so pronunciation takes on a very immediate importance.)

d) Have a preliminary series of short dialogues for the class to go over, asking and giving directions to places that are marked on both copies of the map. Make sure that each dialogue uses different structures, as would happen in real life. For example: "Pardon me, can you tell me how to get to...............?" Excuse me, where's................?" "Excuse me, could you tell me how to find................?"
And be sure to vary vocabulary and structures in giving directions.

The Exercise: Divide the students into pairs, giving one student copy A (Map A) and the other, copy B (Map B). Each map is of the same area with different places labeled. (There are a few places labeled on both, to refer to in the warm-up dialogues.) Following instructions at the bottom of their copies, the students take turns asking directions to places unmarked on their maps, but marked on their partner's. They should not look at each others' maps, point, gesture, or use anything other than spoken English. As they work in pairs, you should be circulating among them, giving brief assistance *if asked,* and making note of words and structures needing further practice, perhaps in another map exercise.

What to do after the exercise: Maps A and B may be okay for warm-up, but nothing can take the place of a real map of a real place in your city that the students have access to—a few blocks of an interesting part of town, the plan of a large store, a map of the campus where they are studying, etc. Being able to actually go out and use the map is a reward in itself, and using a "real map" (that you have put on a ditto) can create classroom conversation about the place on the map, what it's like, who's been there, what they've done, and perhaps this will inspire a field trip.

If you think the exercise may be too difficult: Make a simple map for the students (like A, but simpler) and another for yourself (like B) which you can draw on the board or put on an overhead transparency. Do the exercise with the class, letting them give you directions while you follow them, and having them ask you directions. This gives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THIRD ST
pet shop
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Bakery
Shoe Repair
Used Car Lot
?
Restaurant
Parking Lot
?
?
Dress Shop
Movie Theater
PINE ST.
MAIN ST.
OAK ST.
SECOND ST.
SECOND ST.
Hardware Store
?
Parking Lot
Post Office
?
Men's Store
Parking Lot
YMC
FIRST ST
FIRST ST
start here each time

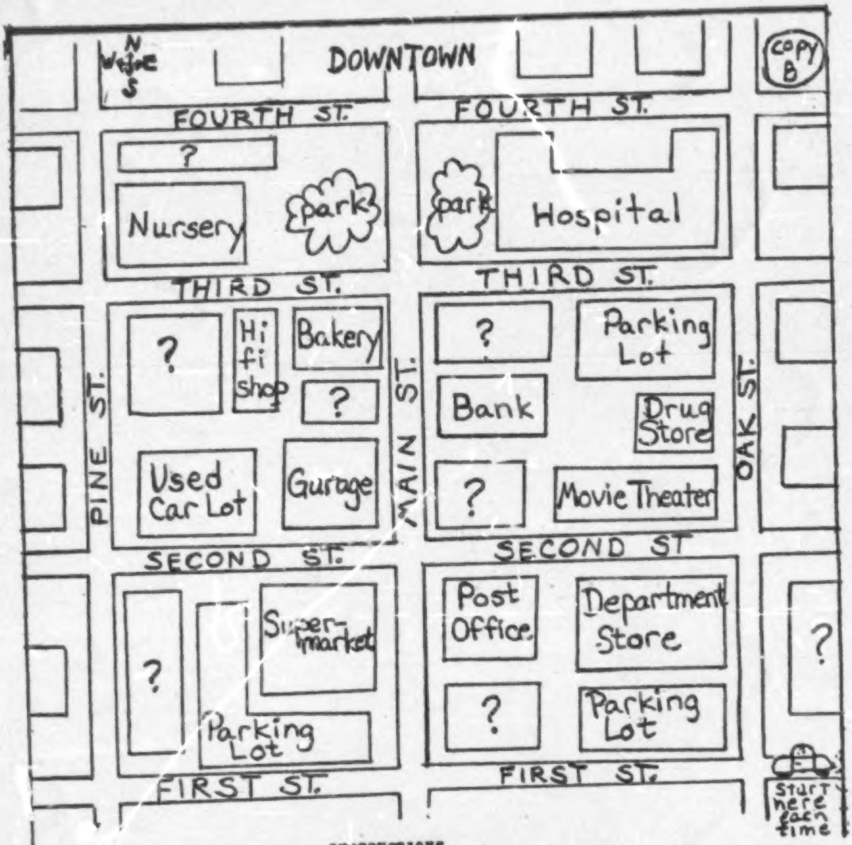
INSTRUCTIONS

You and your partner have different maps. Do not look at your partner's map. Ask your partner how to get to the places listed below, starting each time from the lower right-hand corner, where it says, "Start here each time." Write the name in the right place. Then let your partner ask you.

The places you want to find are:

the hospital
the hi-fi shop
the drugstore
the garage
the department store
the bank
the supermarket
the nursery

Map A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Hi fi shop
Bakery
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Parking Lot
Bank
Drug Store
Used Car Lot
Garage
?
Movie Theater
PINE ST.
MAIN ST.
OAK ST.
SECOND ST.
SECOND ST
?
Super-market
Parking Lot
Post Office
Department Store
?
Parking Lot
?
FIRST ST.
FIRST ST.
Start here each time

INSTRUCTIONS

You and your partner have different maps. Do not look at your partner's map. Ask your partner how to get to the places listed below, starting each time from the lower right-hand corner, where it says "Start here each time." Write the name in the right place. Then let your partner ask you.

The places you want to find are:

the sporting goods store
the men's store
the YMCA
the dress shop
the restaurant
the pet shop
the hardware store
the shoe repair shop

Map B

you further time to monitor their productions, discuss problems with the class, etc., before having them try it on their own.[1]

9. Construction Engineer

For this game, you will need Cuisiniere Rods, which were first developed for teaching mathematical concepts. The rods were later used by Caleb Gattegno in his "Silent Way" language teaching method. (See last paragraph of this section for mail order information.)

With the rods, three or four students build some kind of structure in full view of the class, but out of view of the student chosen to be "engineer." Then the class takes turns giving instructions to the engineer on building an identical construction—remember, the engineer cannot see the class-built structure. In instructing the engineer, the class may use only English and may not use gestures of any kind. The first time through, you may want to do this with the whole class, and act as engineer yourself. After they've gotten the idea, they can be broken into groups of six or eight to do the same exercise.

This game is very good for prepositions, geometrical terms, and reinforcing the use of objects (for instance, "Put *it* on the table," not "Put on the table"; or "Lay *it* on the table," not "Lie on the table."

Where to get the rods: *Educational Solutions, Inc., P.O. Box 190, Cooper Station, New York, NY 10013; tel (212) 982-5600.* Local Distributor: *Paul Ricciardi, 24 Montecito Blvd., Napa, California; tel (707) 224-3479.* The rods are called "Algebricks" and a large box of wooden rods costs about $10.00. You can also get a box of plastic rods called "Colomath" from: *Teachers' Exchange, 600 35th Avenue, San Francisco, California; tel (714) 752-3302.* $4.50 for a box approximately half the size of the Algebircks box; larger size boxes are also available.

LESS MANIPULATIVE ACTIVITIES FOR SMALL OR LARGE GROUPS

10. Make a Map

Using the rods, make the outlines of a street scene or the floor plan of a building. Use other rods for people, animals, trees, cars, planes, busses, trains, whatever. Set up a situation (a restaurant scene, a boy and girl on a blind date, a traffic jam, a bank robbery, a husband and wife having a fight, tourists getting lost, etc.). Let the students take over, manipulating the rods and developing the story—with English dialogue, of course.

This kind of activity can be helpful with shyer students, as it focuses attention away from themselves and onto the rods.

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[1] Those familiar with Joan Morley's *Improving Aural Comprehension* will recognize her influence here. Special thanks also to Laurie Fried Lee for her valuable suggestions.)

11. Picture-Stories

Set up large pictures around the room. Divide the class into groups of two, three or four students. Have them choose a picture that they like, and make a story together about it—in English, of course. If possible, have different members of the groups from different language backgrounds, so that they *must* speak English. While they are doing that, you can be circulating around the classroom, answering questions on new vocabulary, making sure that they're using English, and tuning in on their abilities.

After 15 minutes to half an hour of small-group discussion, get the class back together and have each group get up with its picture, each group member telling part of the story that they have made. Like the previous exercise, this one can be good for the shyer students, as they are focusing attention on the picture rather than on themselves, and they have the company of the other group members. When a group has finished, the class may question the members further about their story or other elements in the picture.

Other activities with the pictures: a) the group puts on a skit of the situation suggested by the picture; b) a more advanced group may want to discuss an idea or theme suggested by the picture.

The best pictures I have found for this purpose, suggested by the teachers at E. Manfred Evans Community Adult School, are: *Discussion Pictures for Beginning Social Studies* ($47.50 for a large set of about 80 pictures), by Thomas J. Dureil, *Harper & Row, 5555 Sunol Blvd., Pleasanton, CA 94566.* Also available: *The Earth, Home of People, Big Book* Silver Burdett (about 30 large pictures in color).

12. The Prop-Box (Thanks to the Creative Environment Center, SFUSD)

Ask each student to bring you something from home that he/she doesn't want. It can be from any room in the house (or from work) and it can serve any purpose. The students should not tell any of their classmates what they are bringing, and they should be prepared to let you keep the object.

Get a large box to hide the goodies that the students bring (you may want to add some of your old "treasures" to the collection too). Divide the class into small groups of 2, 3 or 4. Have each group come up and choose *blindly* from the box. They should not see what they are getting until they have taken it out of the box. Then give the groups 15 minutes to a half hour to make up a skit incorporating their props in any way that they wish. After preparation time, each group must come to the front of the class, describe their props, and present their skit.

13. Discussion of the "What Do You Think?" articles from *You and Your World*

My adult students have liked this simplified newspaper for high school basic education. The feature I like best is the opinion article on page 4 of every issue, which almost always invites class discussion, e.g., the article in the 10/23/74 issue, "Should the U.S. Try to Change Other Countries?"

Subscriptions to *You and Your Wold are* $1.20 a semester. Order from *Xerox Education Publications, Education Center, Columbus, Ohio 43216.*

14. Values Clarification (From *Values Clarification: a Handbook of Practical Strategies for Teachers and Students;* Simon, Howe and Kirchenbaum; Hart Publishing Co., NY, NY 10003 ($3.95)

The main purpose of this book is to make American high school students aware of their real feelings and values so that they can make valid decisions and evaluations. It does so through a series of exercizes that are thought-provoking and discussion-provoking. The book is full of interesting ideas and situations that encourage communication. What follows is an adaptation of one of the exercises (adapted by Paul Nixon, Alemany Community College Center).

The Fall-Out Shelter Problem

World War III has just begun. Atomic bombs will begin falling in an hour. You and your group are in charge of Agricultural Experiments for the United Nations. Your headquarters is in New York City. You receive a telegram from one of your experimental stations in the South Pacific. The people at the station have a small fall-out shelter—large enough for only *six* people. However, there are *ten* people on the island. The ten people have asked you to decide which six of them should enter the fall-out shelter. The people don't want to decide themselves because they realize that the four people left out will probably die and also that it is possible that the *six* people who enter will be the only people to survive the war.

Eliminate *four* of these ten:

1. A local tribal chief, from the primitive tribe on a nearby island.
2. His wife, six months pregnant.
3. A medical student—he is an alcoholic.
4. An agricultural specialist of the U.N., male, 50 years old.
5. A young priest
6. A woman first grade teacher.
7. A U.N. policeman with a gun.
8. A lawyer, female, 30 years old.
9. A famous folk singer.
10. A warrior/hunter from the tribe with a spear.

Other recent publication of Values Clarification and ESL:

Joining Together: Group Therapy and Group Skills, Johnson and Johnson, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey ($6.95)

"Valuing—An ESL Activity," by Donna Ilyin, *TESL Reporter,* Spring 1975 (The *TESL Reporter* is a quarterly publication from Brigham Young University-Hawaii Campus, Laie, Hawaii 96762.)

15. Some Handy Resource Books:

Games for Second-Language Learning, Gertrude Nye Dorry, McGraw-Hill, New York ($1.50)

Language-Teaching Games and Contests, W. R. Lee, Oxford University Press, 200 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016 ($1.40)

Effective Techniques for English Conversation Groups, Julia Dobson, Newbury House, 68 Middle Road, Rowley, Massachusetts 01969 ($3.50).

Do you have other activities or books to add to this list? If so, I'd like very much to hear about them. Please write to: Judy E.W.B. Olsen, 465-A Frederick, San Francisco, California 94117.

Games Students Can Play[1]

GRACE SCOTT
Instituto Mexicano-Norteamericano de Relaciones Culturales, Mexico; and MEXTESOL

No matter what the age level (children, teenagers or adults), games can be used successfully in teaching English as a second or foreign language.

A good language game is a wonderful way to break the routine of classroom drill because it provides fun and relaxation within the framework of language learning, and it provides the student with an incentive to learn. Here are some suggestions for various types of games:

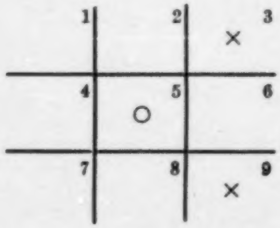
TEAM GAMES

1. **Tic-Tac-Toe** (can be used with students from the beginning levels to the advanced levels, for teenagers and for adults)

This game can be used to reinforce prepositions, verb tenses, frequency expressions, interrogative words, etc.

Instructions: Draw a huge square on the left-hand side of the chalkboard and divide it into nine smaller squares. Number each square from 1 to 9. On the right-hand side of the chalkboard draw two parallel horizontal lines and two parallel vertical lines. Write numbers 1 to 9 in the upper right-hand corner of each division.

1 IN	2 ON	3 AT
4 TO	5 FROM	6 NEAR
7 OFF	8 FOR	9 OF



In each square place the item you wish to work with. For example, if you want to review prepositions, put one in each of the nine squares. Divide the class into two teams. The first side to begin picks a number (let's say #3) and gives a sentence containing the preposition *at*—"I study English *at* the university." If this answer is correct, an X (or O, depending on whatever the team chooses) is placed in the square containing number 3. Then side two picks a number (let's say #5) and the student says, "I'm *from* Mexico." An *O* is placed in section 5, etc. The first team to fill the sections across, down or diagonally wins.

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[1] This paper was presented as a demonstration sponsored by a TESOL affiliate, Mexico Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (MEXTESOL).

2. What would you do if (for intermediate or advanced levels to reinforce *if*-clauses)

This is strictly a fun game which not only helps the student learn how to use *if*-clauses, but also helps to increase the student's vocabulary in certain areas—i.e., the teacher can suggest that they use technical vocabulary items such as *test tube, slide rule,* etc.

Instructions: Team I writes questions on slips of paper with: "*What would you do if* you found a fly in your soup (test tube)?" "*What would you do if* your girlfriend went to the movies with your best friend?" "*What would you do if* your zipper (slide rule) got stuck?"

Team II writes answers on slips of paper with:

"*I would* sing a song (draw a T square)."
"*I would* fly a kite."
"*I would* smoke a cigarette, etc."

The questions are put in one box and the answers in another. One member of Team II chooses a question and read it aloud. Then a member of Team I chooses an answer and read it aloud. The resulting questions and answers can be hilarious. There is no winning team, so to speak, in this game, but everyone wins since the students get practice in forming questions, writing answers and reading the results aloud to the entire class. A variation can be *What would you have done if* you had been Napoleon (Cleopatra) etc. And the answers would be *I would have* gone home—*I would have* learned how to play the guitar, etc.

3. Communication

One member from each team goes to the chalkboard. The teacher shows a picture to the class. (The two students at the chalkboard have their backs to the class and can't see the picture.) Each student has a chance to give the member of his/her team at the board a clue as to what's in the picture and that student can only draw what the teammate communicates. For example: Team I says "*There's a* girl in the picture." The student draws a girl. Team II might say, "There's a girl *holding* a boy's hand. Team I—"The boy and girl *are smoking.*" The idea is to see which team can complete the picture first by utilizing what the other team has done and building on it. The first student student to complete the picture correctly according to his team's instructions wins. This is a good exercise for *there is/there are* and for the present progressive tense.

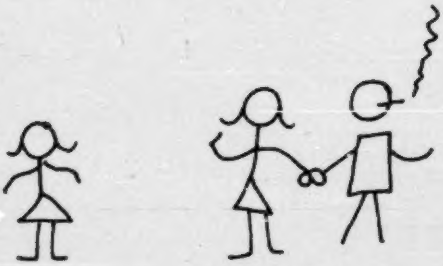
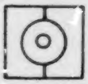


Fig. 1

SMALL GROUP GAMES

1. Cartoons or Linear Drawings

Each group plans a simple cartoon using geometric shaped or linear drawings. Captions can be invented for these drawings or the group can present their drawings to the class as a whole to see if anyone can guess what the situation is. (Good practice for storytelling.) The class picks out the best cartoon or situation suggested. (Good for intermediate and advanced levels.)

Example: What is this? 

Answer: It's a Mexican on a bicycle.

2. Problem Solving

The teacher presents a problem to the class: "There's been a shipwreck and only 5 people can fit into the lifeboat. Who shall be saved?"

The class forms small groups of 5 and discusses the problem. One at a time, the members in a group give their reasons why they feel they should be saved, and the other members help each other with reasons and arguments. Then each group tells the class why their 5 members should be saved and the class decides (thumbs up—OK, thumbs down—No). The group that saves the most people wins.

Another group problem-solving situation is that the earth is about to explode—a spaceship is loaded with food and clothing and is waiting for you to board it. You are allowed to take only one personal item which doesn't weigh over a kilo. What would you take with you? Again, the class decides which group has selected the best items. (This is good for vocabulary building and informal discussion at both intermediate and advanced levels.)

3. Interrogative Word Questions

Each group selects a secretary (usually the best student). She (or he) is the only one who has pencil and paper. The teacher writes interrogative word questions or gives a sentence. For example: "I had a wonderful time last Saturday night." Each group has 5 minutes to make up as many interrogative word questions as possible asking for additional information about the teacher's statement. The secretary should be instructed to leave plenty of space between each question. The students in each group tell the secretary their questions and they help each other formulate questions and correct structures. For example: They might ask, "Where did you go?" "Who did you go with?" "How often do you go out on Saturday nights?"

While the students are working on their questions, the teacher circulates to see how well they are doing or if they need help. After the 5 minutes are up, the teacher asks each group to count their questions to see which group has the most. That group starts reading their questions first. The other groups must listen to see if there are any errors. If another group catches an error, it gets credit for that question and it's deducted from the first group's list. Students are instructed to check off questions that they have that other groups have already given and they get points for any questions not covered. The team with the greatest number of correct answers wins. After all the papers have been read and corrected and if there is time, the papers are exchanged and each group answers the questions on the paper. The same procedure is used to correct and check the answers.

This game helps the student learn how to form *wh*-Questions and how to answer them. (This technique can also be used with *is/are* and *do/does* questions from the beginning levels on up.)

4. Telephone Spy (2 to 4 students)

The teacher (or a student) writes the answers to a telephone conversation on the chalkboard and each group tries to formulate the questions that would elicit such answers. The group with the best questions wins.

Example: Q. ______________?
A. This is Karen.
Q. ______________?
A. Oh, I'd love to!
Q. ______________?
A. I'll try.
Q. ______________? etc.

5. Chinese Letters (groups of 7 to 8)

Student one: Writes down the name of a woman on a piece of paper and folds it over.
Student two: Writes down the name of a man and folds it over.
Student three: Writes "They met at........................"
Student four: Writes "She said........................"
Student five: Writes "He answered........................"
Student six: They (action verb).
Student seven: People said "........................"
Student eight: Reads the complete letter!

6. The Rorschach Test

Each group is given an ink blot (or the students can make their own.) The group interprets what they see. Afterwards, each group holds up their ink blot for the class to see and they ask the class for their interpretation. Interpretations are compared and discussed.

7. It's in the Bag! (Role-playing for groups of 5–6)

Teacher prepares 3–4 bags. Each bag should contain 6–10 articles for props. Each group is given a bag and they are allowed 10 minutes to invent a skit on any subject but they must use all the props that they have in their bag in the skit. Then the skit is presented to the class and the class decides on which skit is best.

GAMES FOR THE ENTIRE CLASS

1. Last-first

A student gives a word, for example, *boy*. The next student has to give a word beginning with the last letter of the previous word (e.g., *you*). The next student says *umbrella*, etc. (For vocabulary building)

2. What does Steven like?

He likes *s*chool but he doesn't like classes.
He likes *st*amps but he doesn't like cards.
He likes *sn*ow but he doesn't like ice.

(He likes "s plus a consonant")—This is a good game to help correct pronunciation problems. Another variation of the game is: *What does Peggy Collins like?*—

She likes *co*okies but she doesn't like cake.
She likes a*cc*ounting but she doesn't like math.
(She likes double letters.)

3. What Do You Need To Cross a Mountain?

For this game it is best to have the class in a circle. Each person has to name some article of clothing and its color. For example, *I need* *some heavy brown shoes. I need a red shirt*, etc. The idea is that the student has to name some article of clothing that the person to his/her right is wearing. This is a good game for learning colors and articles of clothing.

4. Guess What They're Doing

Cover up sections of a picture and see if the class can guess what they're actually doing. A good exercise to practice the present progressive tense.

Remember that games are an excellent way to get the students to communicate (both orally and in writing) and to train them to listen. After all, winning points for their team might depend on their listening comprehension.

Mini-Lessons from the "Funnies"

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Many teachers have tried to incorporate comic strips into their lessons. This paper recognizes that the idea proposed here is not an original one. The subject was dealt with at TESOL 1973 by Francine Stieglitz in her presentation on "Using Comic Strips in ESOL Classes." Nor is the appeal limited to the ESOL class. Foreign language teachers have been intrigued by the possibilities as well.

The reasons for this appeal are several:

1. Strips use colloquial language and natural exchanges.
2. They have visual appeal and reinforce the language with simple yet graphic drawings.
3. They tell us something (often a great deal) about the culture of a given society. Since they often do reflect an authentic slice of life, one may wonder, however, at how much translations (*Blondie* in Spanish for instance) may tell students about Hispanic culture. The context is often just too American, which makes it ideal for our purposes.
4. Strips seem to know no age barriers. While not everyone may be a comic strip fan, among those who relish them are children and adults alike.
5. They are quickly read and understood by the native speaker. The main point is usually easily grasped by the native speaker.

Ideas for exploiting strips as classroom material are probably limited only by a teacher's own imagination and resources. I would like to offer one suggestion which I shall call "mini-lessons." Rather than a class diversion—something to do when tedium begins to set in or when the teacher is faced with an extra ten minutes to fill, like a song or a game—these "mini-lessons" become an integral part of the treatment of a specific unit of language. In beginning or intermediate level classes they can be called forth when a particular point is being mastered, at a time when students are moving from the mechanical stage to that of more meaningful communication and language use. Something which a textbook has presented often drily or perfunctorily comes alive in its comic strip incarnation. This is language as it is used, and students recognize it as such. In more advanced classes the "funnies" can also be used as a springboard to discussion or as an inspiration for student-created dialogues and exchanges.

Editors' Note: We regret that the six sample mini-lessons included with the original paper could not be printed.

Before moving into some actual "mini-lessons" here are some essentials to consider in creating your own. These are gathered under the headings of Criteria of Selection, Method (or Strategies) of Exposition, and Practical Application (Execution) and Development.

CRITERIA OF SELECTION

1. The strip must be a single strip—normally two or three frames.

2. It must be self-contained; that is, not a continuous "story" which unfolds day after day.

3. It must contain, and repeat if possible, one example of usage, one point of grammar, one vocabulary item, one pronunciation difficulty, etc., which is the focus of your lesson.

4. The language must be normal, general, and as unambiguous as possible, not relying on far-out puns, plays on words, or *doubles entendres* to make the point.

5. More than one speaker should be involved ideally, although an interior monologue or running comment by one cartoon character frequently offers as good a model of language use.

6. There must indeed be something funny or humorous which can be enjoyed by the class. Too many "funnies" are funny in name only. It is the virtue of many of the single-strip comics that they usually offer something at least mildly amusing. The teacher should be on the lookout, as far as possible, for universals—the traits of character, little foibles of human nature, outlooks and befuddlements, which people have in common. It is important to guard against anything which could be taken as an ethnic slur or cultural insult by any member of the class. If a teacher has an ethnically mixed class, more care may be required than if the class is a homogeneous group.

7. The strip must be one which you yourself enjoy. I find that I have certain prejudices against some strips. I find the drawings distasteful and the language offensive. Even if the students like them, it is hard for me to overcome these feelings sufficiently in order to use the strips effectively as a teaching tool. By the same token, if the students have a particular aversion to any strip you have chosen, it should be promptly abandoned.

Some of the strips I have found which fulfill these criteria are *Peanuts, Blondie, Nancy, Freddy, Hagar, Mutt and Jeff, Funky, Hi and Lois.* There are, of course, many others. Here it would be well to note that any strip you might choose is probably under copyright restriction, the copyright being held by a features syndicate. The strips can be reproduced for classroom use, but permission should be obtained from the copyright holder for any use outside the classroom.

METHOD OF EXPOSITION—STRATEGIES

It is not necessary to wait until you are in the middle of a unit on, say, the future-real condition to look for a strip containing *if . . . will*-clauses. In fact if you do, you will probably not find one. Rather, the teacher should systematically cull from the daily papers all those strips which leap to the eye with the single-minded intensity of their language. Reject any which are too wordy or have too many language problems. Keep in mind the sequencing of your textbook. A strip that uses several different verb tenses, for example, would not be appropriate *unless* you plan to use it as a review lesson or in an advanced class.

When you have chosen a strip and decided on the dominant pattern or feature which is to be the focus of your lesson, the actual writing of the lesson will require some thought and attention. Be careful not to include *too* much, or the purpose of the "mini-lesson" will be defeated. One page should be enough. Here are some of the things you could do:

1. Vocabulary expansion. I found the word *get* repeated with different nuances of meaning in one strip of *Hi and Lois.* I made a list of the ten most common meanings of this overworked verb (not including the *get* plus particle or preposition forms) and made up sample sentences for each meaning.

2. Sequence of tenses. Take a dominant sentence pattern and work out a simplified grammatical explanation. A *Funky* strip offered this gem: when Derek asks his teacher if the course is pass/fail, she replies, "If you get A, B, C or D you pass; if you get F you fail," thus presenting a marvelous occasion to explain that the future need not *always* be used in the result clause of a real condition—as well as an opportunity to clarify the American grading system.

3. Verb review. A *Freddy* strip used successively in three frames the present perfect, the future, and the present tenses. Rewrite exercises using these verb forms may be prepared for the students to complete.

4. Spelling. Nancy tells Sluggo, "I can write an eleven letter word with only four letters," and then proceeds to write MISSISSIPPI on a wall. Students can be asked to spell other words or state names: one that begins with *A* and ends with *A* and has two *A*s in the middle (Alabama); one that's high in the middle and round on both ends (Ohio—an old joke or riddle which most grade school children in the United States probably know).

5. Pronunciation. In another *Nancy* strip, Sluggo greets a dog, a cat, and a bird he meets on his walk with "Happy New Year" but when he meets a jumping frog, he changes this to "Hoppy New Year." Students could be asked to discriminate the æ/*a* sounds and work on other contrasts: *cat/cot, mapping/mopping, He sat on the cat/He sat on the cot,* etc.

6. Noun-clause reduction. The use of *it* or *that* to refer to a whole preceding noun can be made the basis of an exercise based on this exchange between Hagar and his wife:

> Hagar: . . . Good wine should be kept in an aged container.
> Hagar's wife (pointing to his stomach): We do *that* already.

7. Verbals. The gerund as object of a preposition was the dominant pattern of a *Nancy* strip. A little friend asks Sluggo how bees make that buzzing sound. He says, "by flapping their wings," and goes on to observe that "girls make the same sound by flapping their tongues." Have students answer a series of similar *how*-questions in the same way. (Teachers with feelings about the male chauvinism of Sluggo's remark might get additional mileage from a related class discussion.)

8. Gender in English. Blondie wants to know why the Himalayas aren't called the Heralayas, and Peter in *B.C.* complains that he has been "girlcotted." Natural gender can be discussed. Students might be asked to give male/female equivalents of words in English which show gender.

9. Constructions of comparison. The comparative *worse than* . . . repeated in a *Freddy* sequence could give rise to a series of controlled writing exercises in which students were asked to create new sentences following the model and substituting other comparitive adjectives for *worse.*

10. Modals. In one of their usual non-sequitur exchanges, Blondie and Dagwood use the forms *can, can't would, could,* and *couldn't.* Illustrations of the use of modals to express possibility and probability, and exercises where students supply the appropriate form may be developed.

The object is to keep the lesson short and to the point, as in the above examples. Vocabulary levels should be carefully observed. It is quite possible that a strip will have just the sentence pattern you are looking for, but the amount of new vocabulary to be explained will be so great as to make it unsuitable.

Many strips can be prodigiously mined for their cultural value alone. Often this derives as much from the characterizations of individuals depicted in the drawings as from the situation itself. Hairstyles, clothing, home scenes, neighborhood and school environments, offices, stores, urban and rural settings, may be identified and discussed.

Another aspect of culture is one which is more subtle and must be inferred from the context of situation and language. Strips tell us a lot about various *attitudes* such as interpersonal relationships (parent/child, husband/wife, peer groups, and sibling rivalries), patterns of behavior (dating, work, school), family and community environments, minority conflicts, and inner city realities. Take the sensitivities of your students into account.

Observances of holidays, weddings, birthdays, are yet another bit of cultural information which may crop up quite casually from time to time in the "funnies."

Among the most common cultural *themes* are those of the generation gap (most of the "family" strips—*Blondie* or *Hi and Lois* for example), the male/female confrontation or "war between the sexes" *(Jiggs and Maggie, Born Loser, Andy Capp),* the teen-age scene *(Funky, Arachie, Penny),* political satire *(Doonesberry, Pogo),* and precocious kids *(Peanuts, Freddy, Nancy, Wee Kids,* etc.).

Adult students may be encouraged to explain where U.S. cultural values as reflected in the "funnies" coincide with those of their native countries and where they diverge. They can often also tell why something which strikes us as funny does not seem funny to them. The nature of a country's humor often reveals a good deal else of the national character. The tradition of spoofing and making fun of ourselves and others may be quite foreign to a lot of students. If they can be guided to an understanding, if not full appreciation, of this aspect of the national personality, it may add immensely to their ability to cope with Americans at home and abroad. It is important in adult classes not to seem to talk down to the students. If they feel that the use of comic strips is condescending or demeaning, some such sociological explanation of their use might smooth the way.

Students in regular high school or college EFL courses are usually glad of any diversion from the standard text. Those in classes in the United States have the added incentive of ready availability of the daily papers carrying the strips. They are probably also aware of the popularity of the "funnies" among their peers who are native speakers of English.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION—EXECUTION AND DEVELOPMENT

1. **Reproduction of the strip for classroom use** may be handled in several ways. If xerox equipment is available, the most effective way is to duplicate a lesson as a one-page handout from the teacher's master model. The point of the lesson, the strip, and the exercises may be assembled on the page. Students keep a notebook or special folder of "mini-lessons" as a supplement to their textbook. Have them note the page reference from their textbook on the mini-lesson for any point of grammar that requires fuller explanation or reinforcement.

Many teachers do not have xerox facilities, but their school may have an overhead or opaque projector. In this case, the lesson, the text of the strip, and the exercises may be mimeographed for handout, and during class presentation, the teacher projects the strip itself.

For small classes, it may be possible to obtain enough newspapers to provide each student with his/her own strip cut from the paper. Many newspapers will sell or give away surplus issues when they are a few days old. The disadvantage here is that the lesson cannot be kept on permanent file and reused. When the supply of papers runs out, so does the usefulness of that particular "mini-lesson."

Another possibility which has been suggested to me by a colleague adept with a camera is to make a slide of each strip, frame by frame.

If the teacher has only one copy of the strip, as I had in my classes in April, it can be posted on a bulletin board, and all developmental work and exercises can be presented using only the chalkboard as a teaching aid.

2. Presentation. The teacher presents the main idea of the lesson; for instance, the multiple uses of the verb *get*, the -ing form after prepositions, the indefinite pronouns *something, nothing*, the notion of gender.

Students look at the strip, the teacher reads the text, identifies the characters of the drawing, and clarifies any unknown vocabulary. Students read the strip quickly again (silently). The balloons should help beginners and slow readers to focus on one logical language unit or thought group at a time. They should see it as a block rather than as a string of unconnected words. A repetition drill can be quickly done for rhythm and intonation if the teacher feels it would be helpful. The dialogues in some strips might lend themselves to quick dramatizations or readings by pairs of students.

Students are asked to identify the grammar point which is explained more fully and reinforced with other examples where necessary.

The exercises can be assigned for individual homework or they may be done as a class project. Students might also work in pairs, with one page for each pair if the number of reproduced copies is limited. The written work can be put into their notebooks. The teacher can then collect the "mini-lessons" pages for reuse in another class.

3. Development. The "mini-lesson" has now achieved its immediate purpose. It is up to the teacher how much further work could be generated. Students at the beginning level can be asked to talk about the pictures, what they see in the strips: identifying items of clothing, furniture, etc.; describing facial expressions, actions; making inferences about the weather, the emotions of characters. At the intermediate level, students may be asked to tell what their own reactions would be in a situation similar to that depicted in the strip. They may suggest a different "punch line" for the final frame; or they can be asked to invent a complete new dialogue to fill the balloons according to what *else* they think the characters might appropriately say. Advanced classes enjoy examining the text for aspects of culture contrast, as mentioned earlier, and they usually are pleased when examples of difficult but colloquial language are used: Chip in *Hi and Lois*), talking about his father's taste in music: "Poor Dad! Unless a guy lived back there with Mozart and Beethoven, he never heard of him!" Sally, when she puts one over on Charlie Brown: "Faked you out, did't I?". A gloss at the bottom of your mini-lesson for unfamiliar terms and reduced forms might be useful, but I find that it is generally not necessary. Expressions like "Aaargh!" and "yuck!" and "icky!" can be inferred from context and from meaningful renditions by the teacher.

In certain instances, you might decide to use a "mini-lesson" as an introduction to a textbook unit. If the textbook presentation seems somewhat dull or obscure or lengthy, a vivid demonstration of "real life" use from the "funnies" *beforehand* will provide motivation as well as a concrete example of practical application.

Teachers outside of the United States who are unable to obtain U.S. newspapers can still refer to them in most USIS libraries. And the international edition of the *Herald-Tribune* carries a nice selection of our most popular comics.

Even if teachers cannot fully utilize the "funnies" as I have suggested, they may nevertheless still find some inspiration for developing supplementary material. Mini-dialogues, for example, could be used without the added visual stimulus of the strip itself. And the teacher who is himself or herself a non-native speaker of English may find the texts an interesting exercise in comprehension as well as a source of insight into what makes Americans tick.

The "funnies" have been seriously studied as an authentic and indigenous cultural phenomenon. Perhaps it is an exaggeration to vaunt them as part of our national heritage. But examine them more closely as mirrors of our national language and preoccupations. You'll be surprised!

The Television Commercial in the ESL-EFL Classroom

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Ninety-five percent of the households in the United States have a television set. According to A. C. Nielson Company, these T.V's are being viewed about six hours a day per home. There are some estimates which report that pre-schoolers watch an average of fifty hours of television a week. As a medium of instruction educational television has taken the lead as seen in the nationally televised *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood, Sesame Street, The Electric Comany, Villa Alegre,* and *Carrascolendas.* They have shown that television can be entertaining as well as educational. Still, for the amount of television that children watch each day there is relatively little commercial programming aimed at their audience. This paper, however, will focus on how we can use commercial television, specifically the television advertisement, as a point of departure for an ESL or EFL bilingual-bicultural lesson.

Television commercials are made for one basic purpose; to sell products. Afterall, it is the public endorsement of a product that keeps a television show on the air. To stay in the public eye, the commercial must be persuasive. More and more entertainers we respect, Henry Fonda, Gregory Peck, Bill Cosby, Sammy Davis, Jr. and Vicki Carr are doing these advertisements. Consumers, as they identfiy with the commercial, the actor, and the product, imagine themselves as different and more special persons. These fantasies support commercial programming in the United States.

The commercial, by and large a microcosm of middle class values, can serve as a trigger film for discussion in bicultural settings, where there is need for a forum to verbalize cultural and ethnic values. Afterall, what is the "Pepsi Generation"? How am I a part of it or not? Will the purchase of a Kodak Instamatic Camera make me happy? What is the difference between someone who drives a Volkswagen and the driver of a Lincoln Continental? If the students in adult or high school ESL-EFL classes spend an evening of television viewing and then evaluate the advertisements, in many cases they will find them out of tune with their value system. A discussion involving the following questions about advertising might prove enlightening to the students:

a) Does the commercial reflect my values?
b) Why (or why not) can I identify with the product?
c) What language is used to try to persuade me to buy this product?
d) Is the person presenting the product from my ethnic background? Do I respect him/her or not?

Not only can the television commercial serve as an impetus to bicultural discussion in the ESL-EFL classroom, but it can also be the focal point for a grammatical structural unit. It can serve as an excellent aid to grammatical pattern practice, writing, reading, or speaking drills. Since each advertisement has from 12 to 14 camera shots, many different lexical items can be introduced surrounding one context. The advantage here is that it contextualizes what otherwise would be random drill. This is useful in building memory skills, while at the same time it is motivating to the student. But probably its major advantage is that it is dynamic, playing on both the audio and visual aspects of communication. One can see the body movements, gestures, and facial expressions that are just as much a part of English as any lexical item. For foreign students, being able to recognize these expressions often proves to be the most valuable part of the lesson.

Since most commercials can be understood without the dialogue, the dialogue should play a secondary role. Yet it can be useful for more advanced students who can look at the images created in the film and discuss how language is used to persuade, manipulate or interest. A less sophisticated class can utilize the dialogue for dictations and letter-sound correspondence exercises. From the script we hear language which is full of contractions and topical slang words. To a great extent, for foreign students, understanding this narration will help their comprehension of English as it is spoken in the United States.

The success of each lesson will undoubtedly depend on the teacher's preparation. A film should not be shown without first preparing trigger discussion questions of bicultural impact, and grammatical, speaking, writing, or reading exercises to implement each lesson. If it is to be a lesson of grammatical content, how will the grammatical structure(s) be presented? What will be done when the film is running? What should be done after the film? What type of follow-up exercises will be integrated into the lesson?

To illustrate the points mentioned above, the League of Women Voters' "Vote," a CLIO Award winning public service commercial, 1973 (Needham, Harper, and Seers) is an excellent example. In the first place its message, which encourages voting on election day, is clear, concise and to the point. It is relatively harmless, stressing democratic ideals, and the importance of each person's part in electing government officials. In the EFL classroom it can trigger discussion on voting and electoral procedures in the United States. In a bicultural ESL setting certain attitudes surrounding the rights and needs of minorities can be discussed.

The advertisement shows six different people at work, each replaced by a substitute which enables the worker to go to vote. In each case, the most unlikely substitute arrives. An elderly woman replaces a construction worker. A young career woman replaces a traffic cop. A busboy replaces a dentist. A stout manager takes the place of a chorus girl in the dancing line. And a long-haired hippie replaces the woman farmer in a scene closely resembling the classic painting, "American Gothic."

To use "Vote" or any other television commercial, judgements must be made as to what communication skill should be emphasized. In "Vote" the teacher can control the extent of lexical items, and can limit the vocabularly to the names of professions. Structurally, this is a good context to start with the verb *to be* contractions, and *yes/no* questions with the verb *to be*. By freezing the film on the frame, and then starting the projector once again, patterns or lexical items can be drilled in context as they appear on the screen.

A lesson introducing *wh*-question words as substitutes for part of the predicate is another possibility for a lesson plan from this League of Women Voters' commercial. In such a lesson the teacher should first introduce the film, briefly explaining the plot, in this case, election day in the United States. Next the announcement should be shown to give the students a context for the grammatical pattern. After the grammatical pattern has been introduced, the film serves as the context for drill work. For each scene the teacher asks a series of *wh*-questions. As the student answers them, the teacher writes the answers on the board in complete sentences. From these statements the teacher has the student make *wh*-questions. For example, in Scene I we see a construction worker with a heavy duty drill breaking up the sidewalk. An elderly, prim grandmother type comes by, taps him on the shoulder, and offers to take his place while he goes to vote. She then, drill in hand, continues the work of the construction worker. The film, stopped on the frame, gives the teacher an opportunity to ask a series of questions: *What does the man do? When does he work? Who does the woman help? Where does the worker go?* These questions, as explained above, are first answered by the student and then made into questions once more. The teacher should continue this drill throughout the scenes of the advertisement. In this way random drill is contextualized and a grammatical pattern and lexical items are introduced.

After the film is shown the oral practice should be reviewed with written work. As a final activity, the class can be divided into groups of two representing each of the scenes of the commercial. Each member of the group plays the role of one of the people in the scene. Together the two students write a short dialogue on what they feel the people are saying to each other. Again, this will be another way to reinforce the grammatical pattern. While the students are practicing in groups the teacher has the opportunity to individualize instruction.

Finally, because of the far reaching effects of this communications media, we must look and question more than ever how television can better serve us an as instructional medium in and out of the classroom. As shown above, the television commercial, an illustration of social values, is useful for the foreign student as well as the native non-English speaking American student. The foreign student, through the television commercial, can start to make needed and useful comparisons with his native culture. Of equal importance, the non-English speaking or bilingual-bicultural American student can look at the commercial and decide how his/her identity fits into the "Pepsi Generation." In addition it provides a context in which to air differences. For ESL-EFL teachers, the short, colorful one-minute film is a motivating and vital way in which to practice grammatical structure and vocabulary within a meaningful context.

TEACHING SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF ENGLISH

Some Important Oddities of English Spoken Numbers

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Native speakers of English use an extraordinarily complex and often whimsical set of conventions in speaking numbers. There are rules for many of these usages, of course, but there is little logic to them, and there are so many exceptions and oddities that the learner of English as a second language must surely be baffled by them, especially since they are rarely systematically taught.

Most EFL courses teach the student to count, but little else. Yet, in the real world, mistakes in the comprehension of spoken numbers are severely punished—and not merely by confusion or embarrassment, but by being short-changed, by getting lost, or by missing flights and busses. The cruel, real world tolerates nothing less than instantaneous, error-free comprehension of numbers; so, if your students are living in an English-speaking environment while they are still learning English, you ought to give some thought to whether or not they achieve a survival level of proficiency with numbers early enough.

In Miami, back in 1967, talking about "Some Important Oddities of English Phonetics," I said that a lot of people who speak the language perfectly well have very little idea of how they actually speak it. I illustrated the point then with some examples of how we use glottal stops, certain unusual intonations, and some other phonetic curiosities. Today, I will illustrate the same point with some important oddities of the way we say numbers.

An example of the bewindering variety of ways in which we say numbers is the digit-series *1905*. If it is an amount—for example, a number of men or of miles—we say:

one thousand nine hundred five, *or*
a thousand nine hundred and five, *or*
nineteen hundred five, *or*
nineteen hundred and five.

If, however, we are speaking of the year, we may say

nineteen hundred and five, *or*
nineteen hundred five, *or*
nineteen five, *or*
nineteen oh five.

And writers of rustic movies sometimes make kindly old codgers say "nineteen aught five" (or is that "naught five"?). But no one else says that anymore, except for fun.

Oddly enough, when we are speaking of *money*, the phrase "nineteen five," can mean different amounts in different places! In a real estate office, we probably mean $19,500. I've asked a lot of people what they thought would be meant if the price of a used car were quoted by a salesman at "nineteen five." Some say $1,950 and some say $1,905. (I suppose this is further proof that you should get a used car salesman to put everything he says in writing! In any case, it's something to watch out for.) Of course, at the supermarket "nineteen five" means $19.05. In Washington, D.C., however, "nineteen five" may very well mean $19,500,000. (Joe Hutchinson once told me about a serious confusion that arose a few years ago over a government contract that was ambiguously quoted as "thirteen five." Now *there's* a problem to watch out for!!)

But while "nineteen five" and "thirteen five" may be ambiguous, "nineteen ten," oddly enough, never is; if it refers to money, it can only mean $19.10.

I have already mentioned the optional use of the word *and* after the word *hundred*. In that context, *and* is invariably reduced to /ən/ or just syllabic /n/. So, for example, we can say either "five hundred ten" or five hundred 'n' ten."

The other optional form occurs when saying amounts over a thousand, and ending in an even hundred. We can say either "one thousand one hundred" or "eleven hundred." Notice, however, that this option doesn't apply to even thousands; we hardly ever hear three thousand spoken as "thirty hundred," *except* in phrases like "between twenty-five and thirty hundred."

Nevertheless, a similar option occurs regularly in numbers over a million. So we often say "eleven hundred thousand" instead of "one million one hundred thousand."

Now let's turn to numbers that are used as the *names* of things: flight numbers, form numbers, model numbers, room numbers, and so on. You might suppose that office and hotel-room numbers would follow some of the same rules used for amounts, but they don't. A room number 1905 is almost *always* spoken of as "Room nineteen oh five," just like one of the options for naming the year, but none of the other options for naming years is normally used for rooms. We would feel perfectly at ease saying "Room eleven hundred," just like the year "eleven hundred," but we never say it. Can you guess why? I don't suppose it's of any instructional significance, but the reason is that there never is a Room 1100. The lowest numbered room on the eleventh floor is invariably "Room eleven oh one."

In Europe, though, many hotels have rooms numbered 300, 400, 500, and so on. It is always, as they may say, *the W. C.*, or as we might say *the john*.

Here are some more room numbers.

Room Five eleven
Room Two ten
Room Fourteen sixteen

The rule here is quite simple: the last two digits are spoken as a group—eleven, ten, sixteen. These last two digits are, of course, the room numbers, because the digits that *precede* them are the *floor* numbers. "Room five eleven" is on the fifth floor, "Room two ten" is on the second floor, etc. This rule is preserved even in room numbers such as "five oh one" and "ten oh nine," the "oh" being used to keep the floor number separate from the room number.

This "oh" is very important. A room with a number like *two zero two* would never be called "Room Twenty/two." If a native speaker heard someone say, "Room Twenty/two," he would think it odd, but would interpret it either as "Room two two" (22) or as "Room two zero zero two" (2002).

House numbers and model numbers follow this same rule of grouping. We say "twelve twenty-five Oak Lane" and "nineteen oh five Main Street." Longer numbers present a difficult problem for the researcher right now. The language doesn't seem to have made up its mind yet about how to cope with that new ramification of urban sprawl that has resulted in house numbers like "one one nine oh five Foothill Blvd." My notes on these and on spoken Zip codes show all sorts of groupings, with the edge appearing to go to those who simply say each digit separately as in a telephone number, as I just did. However, there seems to be some tendency to preserve the last two digits as a group, as in room numbers. I asked Marina Burt, for example, how she says her Zip code, 12222. She says each digit, but with a pause before the last two, like this: one two two, two two. There is logic to that, but I still wonder how the general usage will evolve. On little more than a hunch, I will put my money on the form, "one twenty-two twenty-two."

I indicated a minute ago that model numbers and form numbers follow the same rules as room numbers. That is generally so. Although I once heard a radio announcer refer to a "Northwest Airlines Seven Four Seven," it was the only time I ever heard that monstrous flying machine called anything but a "Seven Forty-Seven."

As for form numbers, well one *never* calls a Form Ten-Forty anything but a Form Ten-Forty—well, *hardly* ever! If there were a Form 1905, it would be called "Form Nineteen oh five," just like the room number.

By the way, with all this discussion of room and floor numbers, many of you have probably remembered something else that our students often have to be taught. In the U.S., what we call the *first floor* is the street or ground floor and *not*, as in most other countries, the next one above it.

When I first began to collect spoken phone numbers, they seemed quite regular. Most people simply say every digit, with a slight pause after the exchange number. My phone number is typical: three seven five, eight oh six five. But there are exceptions. A number like 375-1100 is often spoken as "three seven five, eleven hundred," and many of you will remember a once-famous and highly danceable phone number, "Pennsylvania six five thousand." (By the way, on the original record the orchestra also occasionally shouts "Pennsylvania six five oh oh oh," but I'm not sure we should attach any linguistic significance to that.)

Some phone numbers are bound to be reduplicative, and result in people saying, for example, "two seven three, double two, double four." You hardly ever hear a number such as 1313 spoken as "double thirteen," but I once heard a phone number spoken as "three seven five double ten."

Many of these ways of saying numbers may not seem like oddities to native speakers of English, who of course know them already, but I hope I have made the point that EFL and ESL students are justified in being somewhat confused at times, unless we provide some systematic instruction in them.

Because I want to move on and discuss a few phonetic aspects of "number talk" that cause our students a lot of anguish, I will not have time to discuss a great many other curious usages and problems such as why the movie *2001* is not called "Twenty oh one" according to pattern for *1901*, nor why a board five feet long is called a five *foot* board. We have no time to dwell on such numbers as "seven point two million," or "twenty-six K."

We cannot puzzle over why a man is said to be "six three," nor how in the song, the gal with the eyes of blue can be "five foot two" instead of "five feet two," nor the various ways we say numbers with decimals, nor how library call-numbers are spoken, nor why Canadians say "Number fourteen road" while we always say "Road fourteen," nor why the military not only speaks its time differently, but has its own method of saying aircraft numbers, and why it even has an absolutely unique ordinal form such as "the four fifty-third." All that would take hours.

So let's turn to phonetics now, and begin with just four English sounds that present problems to a great many students: /ɪ/, /θ/, /v/ and that demon syllable-final /n/.

It may surprise you to learn that /n/ occurs in syllable-final position in over half the numbers from 1 to 100: 56 of them to be exact!

It occurs in 1, 7, 9, eleven, all the teens and twenties, and 35 others. Students who have trouble articulating /n/ at the end of a syllable are likely to misarticulate all their numbers. Remember, too, that misarticulation of a sound is often a sign that the student does not *hear* the sound the way a native speaker does. So he/she may have trouble discriminating 16 from 60.

The vowel / ɪ/, another very common problem, occurs in accented syllables in nearly a third of the numbers from zero to 100: 31 of them, to be exact.

The voiceless TH occurs in the number *three* and in 18 others (or about one out of five), and /v/ occurs 30 times.

Fortunately, there are no minimal pairs among the English numbers, except *million* and *billion*.

But considering that there is rarely any redundancy in a spoken number; considering the high probability of misarticulation of *several* phonemes in, for example, a phone number; and considering the costs of mis-communication of numbers; it seems to me we should set a higher criterion for articulation of numbers than we usually do. Let me given some additional reasons why. I have mentioned only four difficult sounds; but there are others, of course. Furthermore, there are some extremely difficult consonant clusters. I said the voiceless lingual-dental sound /θ/ occurs in 19 cardinal numbers from zero to a hundred. It also occurs in *all* the ordinal numbers except *first* and *second*, and, in nearly every instance, it occurs as the second sound of an especially difficult consonant cluster. Consider, for example, *fifth, sixth, ninth, tenth, eleventh* and *twelfth*, to mention only a few.

The fractions present similar demons, even for native speakers. Say these to yourself: *seven twelfths, nine seventeenths, eleven twenty-fifths*, and *sixty-six hundredths*. Considering that many students have trouble with the simple *ks* cluster in *six*, it is no wonder they garble the ordinal *sixth* and massacre a fraction like *five sixths*.

But none of these problems, as difficult as they all are, is equal to learning some of the marvelously subtle *junctures* that native speakers use in speaking numbers. Few of these junctures are ever taught systematically. Let me give you a couple of examples of what I mean. There are two houses, 34 blocks apart, that have these two addresses: 1699 Western Blvd., and 6099 Western Blvd. Or how about 2340 6th St., and 23 46th St.?

Fortunately, however, numbers are uniquely suited to phonological drills. Numbers have the advantage that you can use them as visual stimuli without spelling interferences, they can usually be presented in both discrimination and pronunciation drills without referring to the student's native language at all, and the meaning of a written number is absolutely clear.

I would like to suggest, therefore, that our courses should begin drills on numbers very early—first, because the students need to learn them early for survival; and second, because numbers provide superb drill material for the sounds of English without recourse to either nonsense words or rare words.

So let's talk about numbers as a medium for phonological training in English.

The English numbers from one to 1,000 contain all the vowels and diphthongs except four: /a/, /ʊ/, /æ/ and /oi/. But /a/ can be taught in *dollar, o'clock,* and *yard.* /ʊ/ can be taught in *foot,* /æ/ in *half,* and /oi/ in numbers like *3.14.*

As for the consonant sounds, the numbers from 0 to 1,000 contain half of them. These are missing: /h/, /y/, /š/, /ž/, /m/, /ŋ/, /č/, /ǰ/, /ð/, /p/ and /b/. These however, can be taught in words such as *half, million, fraction, measure, length, check,* and *digit,* or in other words associated with numbers, such as *the* first, *the* second, and so on, *point, about* and "goes *inta.*"

There is one further—and very powerful—argument in favor of starting your instruction on numbers very early; the numbers provide one of the most appropriate opportunities in language training for use of programmed instruction. The simplest type of programmed instruction, that can be employed right in the classroom, and that incorporates virtually all the important principles of P. I., is to dictate a number, have the students write it down, then write it on the chalkboard so they can check their answers. Do this with single digits first, then two digits. By two digits, I do *not* mean numbers like twenty-four, but two digits, like two, four. You can follow this with an exercise of three digits, like the first three digits of a telephone number, then four, like the last four digits of a telephone number, but carefully avoiding any of the additional exceptions I mentioned earlier.

The important thing to remember is not to proceed with three or four-digit exercises, or with the exceptions and oddities, until each and every student gets a perfect score on the easier drills.

You then move on to complete telephone numbers. Only after that should you teach and drill the usages that deal with years, or with room numbers, or with amounts of money.

If you would like to prepare some tapes for the language lab, it is very easy to produce these in programmed self-instructional form. Here is a simple way to do it.

The objective, let us say, is perfect recognition of spoken numbers from one to a thousand. This will take several tapes, but let's design one somewhere in the middle of the series.

The idea is to design the lab exercise so that it is self-instructional. For this, we need a system that permits a relevant response to a relevant stimulus, and immediate confirmation or correction of each response.

The stimuli will be spoken numbers, recorded on tape; the response is to write down the number. Now, how do we provide the correct answer? We can't put the answer on the tape, because what we want to confirm is the correct *written* form. (A student who doesn't recognize the spoken stimulus wouldn't recognize a spoken confirmation, either.)

So we give him/her the answer printed on an answer sheet (see sample Answer Sheet below), but we bury the correct answer in a scrambled list.

For example, let us take a tape in the middle of our series. The tape begins with instructions, then it says "One! Seventeen." There is a pause while the student writes the number 17 here. Then the tape says "F." That's the code-letter for the answer in the key. The student looks for "F" in the scrambled key and compares what he/she wrote with the number printed after F. The tape provides a a pause for this. The tape then goes on: "Two! Three hundred six." Pause, "C." Another pause while the student finds "C" and checks the answer. Then, "Three! Seventy." A pause, then "E."

If you are teaching variations in this tape, the next item may be "Four! Three oh six." Pause. "C." And if you are interested in teaching number recognition under all possible circumstances, the next

SAMPLE ANSWER SHEET

Exercise A. Use with Tape ____________

1. ______________________
2. ______________________
3. ______________________
4. ______________________
5. ______________________
6. ______________________
7. ______________________
8. ______________________
9. ______________________
10. ______________________
11. ______________________
12. ______________________
13. ______________________
14. ______________________
15. ______________________
16. ______________________
17. ______________________
18. ______________________
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25. ______________________
26. ______________________
27. ______________________
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29. ______________________
30. ______________________
31. ______________________
32. ______________________
33. ______________________
34. ______________________
35. ______________________
36. ______________________
37. ______________________
38. ______________________
39. ______________________
40. ______________________
41. ______________________
42. ______________________
43. ______________________
44. ______________________
45. ______________________
46. ______________________
47. ______________________
48. ______________________
49. ______________________
50. ______________________

ANSWERS

Alfa	7871
Bravo	80
Charlie	1262
Delta	972
Echo	238
Foxtrot	661
Golf	4042
Hotel	3493
India	534
Juliett	651
Kilo	153
Lima	5165
Mike	9116
November	4242
Oscar	8905
Papa	3535
Quebec	7790
Romeo	2106
Sierra	1094
Tango	2376
Uniform	6277
Victor	3045
Whiskey	7855
X-ray	4988
Yankee	5688
Zulu	8079

item may be a highly nasalized articulation of "Seventy" to assure that it is discriminated from "Seventeen."

Of course, the series of tapes should be well planned, going from easy to difficult and gradually speeding up so as to develop a quick, automatic response.

No student should be allowed to move on to the next, more difficult tape until he/she can get a perfect score. With numbers, being 90% right is not passing—not in the cruel, real world.

Conclusion.

Considering the great importance of perfect comprehension of numbers in all their regular and irregular usages, and considering the great number of phonological problems in speaking numbers intelligibly, it seems strange that so few EFL or ESL courses teach spoken numbers early enough and thoroughly enough. This is particularly unfortunate since numbers also afford excellent content for the ear-training and articulation instruction that are primary concerns at the beginning of such courses.

Perhaps it's just that nobody has thought about it very much.

TEACHING
WRITING SKILLS

A Method for Improving the Writing Skills of Foreign Students in University Level Expository English Composition Courses

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The current state of the teaching of written composition in American universities and colleges has come to be regarded by many educators and administrators as a serious national problem. For non-native speakers of English, the university-level freshman English class, a required course for most undergraduate degrees earned from American universities and colleges, is often a serious stumbling block in the academic experiences of many foreign students who enter our institutions of higher education. Even though such students have scored very well on the TOEFL or have achieved high levels of proficiency while attending intensive ESL programs in the United States, many non-native speakers of English need a special "pre-freshman English composition" course in order to "write well" for typical university-level freshman English courses. This problematic situation contains two broad questions which I believe first have to be investigated in order to understand and to subsequently deal with the situation, i.e., what kinds of writing may be taught in a "typical university-level freshman English composition course"; and what does "writing well" mean to American university-level composition instructors?

For English composition teacher whose students are not native speakers of English, the answers to these questions may not be as important as being able to objectively verbalize to students the differences among the four kinds of writing which may be taught in University composition courses and, even more crucial, to be able to teach students not only what "writing well" means to an American instructor of freshman English, but also to objectively teach students how to "write well" for such courses. We know that in most American university-level freshman English courses, any of four kinds of writing may be taught, i.e., expository, descriptive, narrative, and technical. However, what seems to be only vaguely known is how to objectively describe just what expository "style" is, in contrast to the other three kinds of writing. Non-native speakers of English generally do not analytically know which style they are writing in so that they may objectively assess whether or not their writing is in accord with a particular composition assignment. A concrete and frustrating result of not being able to do so is a very low or failing grade received by a foreign student for a well organized, cohesive, fairly well written essay, simply because he/she handed in a descriptive or narrative composition instead of the expository composition that was assigned to the entire class.

In investigating the question of what "writing well" means to an American composition teacher, studies by Hunt (1964) and Mellon (1969) have concluded that the ability to control and manipulate English sentence types accurately is characteristic of "syntactic fluency." Increased "syntactic fluency" indicates an increase in writing skill on the part of the American student. "Syntactic fluency" as defined by Mellon can be measured in a consistent manner as the student matures, by an increase in the number and variety of sentence types in free writing exercises. By "sentence type" I mean whether or not a sentence is simple, compound, complex, or compound-complex.

> In a general way, growth of sentence structure is reflected in a host of commonplace observations on developmental changes in student writing—that independent clauses grow longer, that sentences become highly elaborated, that more subordination is used, that a wider range of sentence patterns is employed, or that sentences become on the average more heavily and deeply embedded (Mellon 1969: 15).

Hunt's research mirrors the above by concluding that the hallmark of syntactic fluency is the ability to "say more," on the average, with every statement. This conclusion has been confirmed by O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris (1967). Although the increased use of relative transforms, nominalized sentences, and recursive embeddings at increasingly deeper levels are structural characteristics which indicate and increase in the writing skills of American students, some of these characteristics may or may not be present in the English writings of non-native students of English due to language differences between a student's native language and English. This issue will be dealt with later in this paper.

The methodology employed at the University Writing Center at the University of Delaware for improving the writing skills of foreign students attends directly to the two tasks of objectively defining the structural style of expository, descriptive, narrative, and technical writing, and to describing a student's ability to manipulate or combine the sentence structures of English. The basis upon which all of these data are derived is a clause analysis method that has been in use at Delaware since 1970 and which has proven to be very helpful in setting up instruction for the purpose of improving students' writing skills. The initial stage of the development of the clause analysis method contained in this paper was first reported in 1973 in a paper given at the University of Northern Iowa (Arena 1973).

There are two kinds of important data that the clause analysis method has successfully provided: 1) objective descriptions of the structural styles of typical and published samples of expository, descriptive, narrative, and technical writing; and 2) objective descriptions of an author's written idiolect, in terms of type, number, frequency of occurrence of clause types, and the average length and depth of embedding that an author employs in his/her writing. Experience over the past five years has repeatedly shown that the summaries of several clause analyses of a student's different writings correlate so accurately and consistently in terms of the type, number, frequency of occurrence of clause types, and embedding depth, that the analyst can generally predict, within a reasonably accurate range, the number, type, embedding depth, and variety of clause types in the same person's writings which have not been analyzed. Such accurate and consistently correlating descriptions of a person's written idiolect comprise what may be called a writer's personal 'structural fingerprint' which can be found and verified in any of the person's later writings. The method for structural fingerprinting is derived from a large study at the University of Delaware in 1971 which attempted to apply linguistics to the teaching of English composition by addressing the classical question of whether or not a knowledge of some system of grammar would result in an increase in the composition skills of foreign as well as native American university students. The full report of the Delaware study is contained in a forthcoming text (Arena 1975). In order to better understand the method used at Delaware, a brief description of the background of the study which resulted in a method for improving writing skills of a significant number of students may be helpful.

The Delaware study was undertaken during the 1970–71 academic year and involved a total of 529 students. The purpose of the study was to attempt to increase the composition skills of university students who had previously been obtaining failing grades in their English composition courses. The means to this end was limited individual instruction in both a clause analysis method and a small number of modes and principles of expository writing. The clause analysis method, which can provide objective structural descriptions of an author's written idiolect and of the four styles of writing, was originally developed in a graduate seminar in English syntax taught by Dr. W. A. Cook at Georgetown University in 1969. The Delaware study was essentially a pedagogical extension and application of the clause analysis method; that is, instead of extensive clause analyses of published writers such as E. Hemingway and G. Orwell, whose works were analyzed at Georgetown, clause analyses were made of the compositions of students who were experiencing great difficulty in passing their freshman English courses. What was unique about this application of clause analysis method was that the 'structural fingerprints' of a student's compositions which it provided were used as the basis for the specific lesson plans and directives designed by an English instructor and presented to the student for the purpose of improving their writing skills. For students to understand the results of a clause analysis and to subsequently perform clause analyses of their own writings, a knowledge of the core grammatical system of English according to some grammatical model was necessary. The primary source-model underlying the instruction of the grammatical system that was presented to the students is the tagmemic-generative model of grammar elaborated by Dr. W. A. Cook (1969). An interesting phenomenon observed during the study was that, in general, foreign students received and assimilated instruction in grammar much more easily than did their American counterparts, indicating perhaps that the grammar instruction they received during their previous classes of English as a second language was not in vain.

The core grammatical system of English presented to the students in the study reflects a tagmemic model, that is, it reflects a model which is functional, contains a hierarchy of grammatical levels, and shows a string-type analysis. A tagmemicist views language as a hierarchy of simultaneous and natural levels of grammar which roughly corresponds to the traditional categories of sentence, clause, phrase, word, and morpheme. Since we were analyzing the surface structure sentences in a student's compositions, and since clauses operate at the sentence level, the tagmemic model of grammar is quite appropriate as a basis for providing a description of the student's writing in terms of the number, type and frequency of occurrence of the clause types, and the embedding depth employed by the student in his/her compositions.

According to the tagmemic model of grammar or, for that matter, according to any traditional grammar of English, all compositions written in English may be reduced to four major surface clause types, i.e., transitive, intransitive, equational, and passive. Such clause types may then be analyzed as either independent, dependent, or partial (non-finite) clauses. The hypothesis underlying the application of the clause analysis method is that certain patterns of the four clause types and expected rates of the frequency of occurrence of the clause types could be observed and formulated both in a student's writing and in the four styles of writing, i.e., expository, narrative, descriptive, and technical. Since instruction in the freshman English composition courses at the University of Delaware emphasized expository writing, the first step in the study was to perform numerous clause analyses of published examples of expository writing in order to derive the types of clauses usually employed and their typical rates of occurrence in expository writing. In order to contrast the structural description of expository writing with the other three forms of writing, the second step was to perform extensive clause analyses of published examples of descriptive, narrative, and technical writing. After three years of continuous research and clause analyses of published writings, the generally expected normal frequency of occurrence rates of the four basic clause types in expository, descriptive, narrative, and technical writing are as follows:

	Expected % of Frequency of Occurrence of the 4 Clause Types*			
Form of Writing	Transitive	Intransitive	Equational	Passive
Expository	50%	20%	20%	10%
Descriptive	15%	30%	45%	10%
Narrative	20%	45%	25%	10%
Technical	10%	5%	20%	65%

* ± 8% variation permitted

The above rates were established as norms against which a student's writing patterns could be compared and contrasted. Comparison of the figures contained in a clause analysis of a student's compositions with the above frequency of occurrence rates will result in an objective indication of the form of writing that an author employs, that is, whether the writing is expository, descriptive, narrative, or technical writing, and whether or not the student's writing displays syntactic variation or balance in accord with the expected frequency rates of the clause types as they occur in typical published examples of the four forms of writing.

As mentioned previously, expository writing is the form of written communication predominantly taught in freshman English classes at the University of Delaware. When the results of a clause analysis indicated that the writing patterns contained in a student's composition displayed extreme variance with the expected frequency of occurrence rates for the four basic clause types, the student was directed and taught how to modify the clause types in his/her compositions to more closely reflect the established frequency of occurrence of the four basic clause types in expository writing. After students modified the writing patterns to reflect the established rates of occurrence of the clause types, a significant number of students manifested an acknowledged improvement in their expository composition assignments. In fact, in the original Delaware study, of 472 students who were failing or would have failed their English composition courses, 86% received final passing grades in their freshman English courses. Encouraged by the initial results, the clause analysis technique has become an integral part of the method for improving the writing skills of the more than 2,000 non-native and native students who have attended the University Writing Center[1] since 1971.

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[1] The University Writing Center is an auxiliary facility of the English Department, staffed by a Director and seven graduate teaching assistants, where any registered student may receive individualized writing instruction. Attendance at the Writing Center is not mandatory and there is no cost to the student for any instruction received at the Writing Center.

The studies by Hunt (1964) and Mellon (1969) have attempted to correlate instruction in the control and manipulation of sentence types with an improvement in the composition skills of their students by analyzing the changes in the "T-units" used by the students in their compositions. However, the rules for defining a T-unit in the Mellon (1969) study seem questionable because a large number of sentences contained in the students' compositions were discarded rather than included by his method of analyzing a student's writing. In fact, four of the seven rules for the segmentation of the T-unit deal with discarding (Mellon 1969:43). The clause analysis method employed at the University of Delaware contrasts with Mellon's method in that it discards no written item, and even accounts for minor sentences, i.e., written constructs which have no underlying clause structure. The clause analysis method used at Delaware is partially similar to the Mellon study, however, in that the description of a writer's individual structural patterns is also based on embedded as well as conjoined sentence types. However, sentence-type in the Delaware method encompasses more than just the type of sentence employed by the student, such as simple, complex, or compound-complex, that is, it also identifies the type of clause base that underlies each sentence, and, by a code system, labels the clause-type as either transitive, intransitive, equational, or passive. Further, the clause analysis method also provides computed information relating to the average clause-length of a writer's sentences as well as to the embedding depth contained in a writer's written work. Thus, not only can the conjoined and embedded sentence "fluency" (in Mellon's terminology) be ascertained by an accurate clause analysis of the type used in the Delaware study, but also a structural description of the kind of clause base, the patterns, the frequency of occurrence, and the syntactic balance among the four basic clause bases which occur below the sentence level can be derived and made available for computational and pedagogical purposes. In short, the clause analysis method provides a way to analyze and describe both syntactic fluency with regard to sentence type and embedding depth, and syntactic balance and variation in terms of the types of clauses that an author may already employ throughout his/her writings.

The analytic and counting procedural steps for a clause analysis are as follows:

ANALYTICAL PROCEDURES:

(1) Reduce all sentences to single clause structures. In order to cut a text into clauses, all clause level structures are first sorted according to the main verb phrase of each construction and rewritten one clause to a line.

(2) Observe each single clause to determine whether it is an independent, dependent, or partial clause structure. If the listed construction contains no underlying clause structure, it may be considered a minor sentence type.

(3) Mark all of the listed clauses according to major clause type (*cf.* Code 1, appendix).

(4) If a listed clause is independent, it is labelled only according to type and not for any functional meaning, unless the clause is an instance of directly or indirectly reported discourse.

(5) If the clause is an instance of directly or indirectly reported discourse, it is marked according to its appropriate nominal function as well as with the appropriate discourse-type label (*cf.* Code 2, appendix).

(6) If the listed construction is a dependent clause, it is marked according to its syntactic function (*cf.* Code 2, appendix).

(7) If the listed construction is a nonfinite verb structure, it is marked with a subscript label (*cf.* Code 3, appendix).

(8) All sentence terminals are marked with the boundary marker (#) (*cf.* Code 4, appendix).

(9) The beginnings of all paragraphs are marked with the paragraph initial marker (#P#) (*cf.* Code 4, appendix).

10) All sequential independent clauses of compound sentences are marked with the sequential (plus sign) marker (+) (*cf.* Code 4, appendix).

(11) All *if* and relative factive clauses are scanned for the subjunctive mood form; if such forms occur they are marked for subjunctive mood construction (*cf.* Code 4, appendix).

(12) All clauses are scanned for the imperative mood; if such clauses occur, they are marked for the imperative mood *(imp)* (*cf.* Code 4, appendix).

(13) All clauses are scanned for elliptical constructions; if such constructions occur, they are marked accordingly with (ellip) (*cf.* Code 4, appendix).

(14) All relative clauses are scanned for deletion of subordinating connectors, e.g., *who, which, that, whose, whom, where,* and *when,* as well as for the deletion of the verb in adjectival relative clauses; if deletion occurs, the clause is labelled with the deletion marker (del.) (*cf.* Code 4, appendix).

(15) All sentence types are marked as either a simple (Smpl), complex (Cpx), compound (Cmp), or compound-complex (C-C) sentence (*cf.* Code 4, appendix).

COUNTING PROCEDURE:

(1) Count and record the total number of sentences.

(2) Count and record the total number of clauses.

(3) Count and record the total amount of minor sentences.

(4) Count and record the total number of main clauses, including the number and type of main clauses.

(5) Count and record the total number of dependent clauses, including the number and type of dependent clauses.

(6) Count and record the total number of both main and dependent clauses.

(7) Count and record the number of simple, complex, compound, and compound-complex sentences.

(8) Count and record the number of complex and compound-complex sentences.

(9) Compute and record the average number of clauses per sentence.

(10) Compute and record the average number of dependent clauses per independent clause.

(11) Compute and record the average number of dependent clauses per complex or compound-complex sentence.

(12) Compute and list the frequency of occurrence of each clause type.

(13) Count, compute, and record the total number of transitive and passive clause types.

(14) Check for syntactic variation of, and balance among, the types of clauses; compare to the norm of frequency of occurrence of the four clause types in expository, descriptive, narrative, and technical writing.

After several clause analyses of a student's compositions have been performed, the Writing Center staff member computes a summary sheet (*cf.* appendix) which contains such information as the total number of simple, complex, and compound-complex sentences used; the average number of clauses used per sentence (sentence-length); the average number of dependent clauses per complex or compound complex sentence (embedding-depth); and the most frequently used type of clause base, the second, third, and least used types of clause bases (syntactic-variation). From this data, the analyst may then judge the writing to be syntactically balanced, partially balanced, or totally imbalanced in terms of the established expected rates of occurrence for the four basic clause types in expository, descriptive, narrative, or technical writing. Included after the summary of each clause analysis of a student's writing are the interpretation of the clause analyses and comments by a Writing Center staff member. The interpretation contains a verbalization of the grammatical facts and figures derived by the clause analyses, while the comments contain any needed suggestions for modifying the student's writing patterns in terms of clause types, number, and frequency of occurrence, and embedding depth.

By this grammatical process of sorting, identification, coding, and computation of all the clause level constructions which underlie the sentences in a student's writings, the clause analysis method has demonstrated the syntactic consistency with which many students unknowingly write. In the majority of cases at Delaware, the separate summaries of several clause analyses of a student's different compositions correlated with each other so accurately and consistently in terms of sentence types, sentence length, clause types, frequency of occurrence of clause types and embedding depth, that the analyst could generally predict these kinds of data in the same student's writings which had not yet been analyzed. Such descriptions, labelled 'structural fingerprints' by the Delaware staff, are the concrete bases upon which instruction is designed for improving the writing skills of university students.

For example, based on a comparison of a student's writing patterns with the established rates of occurrence of the four basic clause types, the student may now be given objective reasons or criticism as to why the writing patterns in his/her composition are not in accord with the writing patterns contained in typical expository writing. After some instruction about English sentence and clause-level construction has been presented to the student, the English instructor can suggest and demonstrate valid steps by which the student may improve his/her expository form of writing. For example, if the majority (90%) of clause types contained in a student's composition were found to be equational, such writing could objectively be judged as descriptive and not expository writing; that is, the verb phrases underlying the majority of the sentences would contain an equational verb as the main verb, and the student's sentences would predominantly contain predicate adjectivals and nominals functioning as the subjective complements of equational clauses. If a student's writing patterns displayed a predominance of intransitive clauses, such writing would probably be of the narrative form rather than expository because intransitive clauses easily lend to the taking of peripheral adjuncts of time, location, manner, etc. At Delaware, it has been observed many times that although a foreign student wrote a syntactically accurate and fluent composition, he/she received a low or failing grade because his/her writing was of the narrative type or descriptive type, rather than expository, and neither objective reasons for the student's failure to write in an expository manner nor objective suggestions for helping the student to write better were given by the English instructor. The clause analysis method not only provides the reasons, but also gives foreign students objective directives for improving their writing.

As encouraged and enthusiastic as I am about the contribution of the clause analysis technique to designing instruction for improving the writing skills of university students, I would like to finish on a note of caution with regard to analyzing the English writing patterns of some foreign students. I mentioned earlier in the paper that an increase in writing skills for American students is defined by researchers such as Mellon as the increased use of relative transforms, nominalized sentences, and recursive embeddings at increasingly deeper levels (*cf.* Mellon 1969: 19–20). Embedding at increasing depth, in other words, is one of the structural characteristics which indicates an improvement in the writing skills of American students. However, based on experience as a linguist and an ESL teacher, I feel it prudent to caution those researchers and teachers who may not be aware that for a large number of foreign students studying in America (e.g., Hebrew and Farsi speakers), the process of sentence embedding is almost nonexistent as a feature of their native language. To including recursive embedding as a criterion of the writing performance of such students may be somewhat frustrating for both student and teacher. Without ESL literature and materials based on contrastive analysis which compare the process of embedding in English with the same process in other languages, many American university teachers of freshman English may seriously misjudge the writing abilities of students whose native languages do not contain the embedding process. Such English teachers may not understand why some foreign students employ only simple and conjoined sentences in their English compositions or why such foreign students find it extremely difficult to employ sentences containing recursive or heavily embedded constructions. Worse yet, some university English instructors may decide not to *accept* the writing of such foreign students in university-level compositions because the predominant use of only simple and compound sentences is often looked upon as "child-like" or "immature" writing by such teachers. As a result, some foreign students may obtain low or failing grades in their composition courses even though their simple and compound sentences are correctly written and in spite of the fact that the clause bases underlying the sentences contained in the compositions are in accord with the expected frequency rates of occurrence for any of the four forms of writing. One possible answer to such situations is for the trained ESL instructor to seek employment in literature-oriented departments of English in our American universities and colleges in order to professionally interact with teachers who are experiencing difficulties in teaching freshman English to foreign students. Another possible avenue of action is to begin to send selected articles which pertain to improving the writing skills of foreign students to the journals of organizations such as the National Council of Teachers of English and the Modern Language Association for the purpose of informing many literature-oriented American composition teachers of the reasons why some foreign students may experience great difficulty in achieving the same criteria indicative of an improvement in the writing skills of American students. Unfortunately, without informed and infused sensitivity to language differences, even the well experienced instructor of freshman English, as well as the English instructor who is expertly trained to perform clause analyses, may not be able to objectively instruct and effectively motivate a large segment of foreign students to improve their writing skills.

APPENDIX

Codes and summary for clause analysis.

Code 1: Labels to be affixed to all clauses of the text in order to mark their type.

iCl = intransitive clause
tCl = transitive clause
eCl = equational clause
pCl = passive clause
Min = minor type sentence

Code 2: Labels to mark dependent clauses according to their function.

SV = Subject of verb
SC = Subject complement
DO = Direct object
IO = Indirect object
OC = Object complement
OP = Object of preposition
HA = Head word appositive
Aj = Adjectival
T = Time
L = Location
M = Manner
P = Purpose
C = Cause
R = Result
Cs = Concession
Cm = Comparative
Cn = Conditional
Dir = Directly reported discourse
Ind = Indirectly reported discourse

Code 3: Subscript form labels used to mark nominal, adjectival, and adverbial clauses.

rel = relative clause
inf = marked infinitive
unm = unmarked infinitive
part = participle clause

Code 4: Miscellaneous codes employed in clause analysis.

Simpl = simple sentence
Cpx = complex sentence
Cmp = compound sentence
C-C = compound-complex or complex-compound sentence
+ = sequential independent clause
Del = deletion
Ellip = elliptical
Sb = subjunctive mood
Imp = imperative mood
# = sentence boundary marker
#P# = paragraph initial marker

Summary Sheet.

_____ Sentences _____ Main Clauses _____tCl _____iCl _____eCl _____pCl
_____ Clauses _____ Dependent Clauses _____tCl _____iCl _____eCl _____pCl
_____ Minor Sentences
TOTAL _____tCl _____iCl _____eCl _____pCl

_____ Simple Sentences
_____ Compound Sentences
_____ Complex Sentences
_____ Compound-Complex or Complex-Compound Sentences
Total _____ Complex + C-C Sentences

_____ Average number of clauses per sentence
_____ Average number of dependent clauses per independent clause
_____ Average number of dependent clauses per complex or C-C sentence

Most frequently used clause type: _____ _____%
Second most frequently used clause type: _____ _____%
Third most frequently used clause type: _____ _____%
Fourth most frequently used clause type: _____ _____%
Syntactic variation: _____ yes _____ partial _____ no

Collective Storywriting: Teaching Creative Writing to ESL Children[1]

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Creative writing is not a subject given high priority in the ESL curriculum. In the teacher training workshops in which I've been involved, most teachers and workshop leaders are concerned mainly with how to teach the right pronunciation, the proper word order and all the linguistic features set out so neatly in most ESL texts. Comparatively little is said about ESL writing skills and even less is said about creative writing. In my intermediate level ESL classes in an elementary school in Cambridge, Massachusetts, I had had considerable success with some "fill in the missing words" booklets that I had written about the children in a variety of school situations. The children's enthusiasm and the originality expressed in the rather confining form of the booklets encouraged me to pursue larger scale productions in creative writing. An investigation of resource materials led me to Russell G. Stauffer's *Language-Experience Approach to the Teaching of Reading*. I decided that because my students' vocabulary, speaking, and writing skills were limited, the best way to approach creative writing would be through a language-experience approach, or *collective storywriting*, in which *the whole class* participates.

In class my suggestion that we write a book length story was first met with groans of frustration and disinterest. After reassuring the students that we would all write it together, drawing on each other's contributions of ideas, sentence structure, vocabulary, punctuation, etc., the children seemed less threatened and more ready to become involved. In order to provide the students with a brief stimulus and to give them an understanding of story construction, I read them the book, *My Street*, by Barbara S. Parker, a simple story about a day in the life of a boy as he walks up and down the street. We then discussed the story, focusing on how the boy looked, how he felt, what he saw, and what he thought. From this orientation a plot was suggested to the students for their story—a day in "our" life. By encouraging the children to draw on their own lives and experiences it was easy to produce excitement. Thus, the suggestion that we use this theme was unanimously accepted. From there the production of the story evolved according to the following steps:

1. Three children volunteered to act as secretaries and write down the

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[1] The presentation of this paper at the 1975 TESOL Convention was sponsored by a TESOL affiliate, the Massachusetts Association of Teachers of Speakers of Other Languages (MATSOL).

sentences as the story proceeded—one at the chalkboard for all to see and two on paper to provide sufficient copies.

2. A main character was voted on, a Portuguese girl, Imilia da Cruz. The children decided on an imaginary "heroine" so as not to slight anyone.
3. A description of her physical characteristics followed:

   Imilia da Cruz lives at 225 Charles St. She is a pretty little girl.
   She has long brown hair and blue eyes and long dark eyelashes.
   She is not too fat and not too skinny. She is just right.
4. I provided the vocabulary for the circumlocutions which the children gave for items such as "eyelashes" and the idiom "just right."
5. The plot proceeded with a simple recounting of the walk to school, a stop at the corner candy store, a day in the bilingual program at our school, an after-school visit with an American playmate, then a return home,

   > When she gets home she goes up to her room, and does her homework. She doesn't have too much work because she doesn't speak English very well, yet. Then her mother calls her for dinner. Before she sits down she prays with her family. Then they sit down and begin to eat. When they finish eating they watch television. Then they all go to bed early because she is only ten years old. "Goodnight Imilia, boa noite Imilia!"
6. Grammar, spelling, punctuation, etc., did not become an issue. The children were so anxious to do a good job that it became very important for them to write well. Each helped with these mechanics and where further help was required they turned to me.

When the story was completed each student took great pleasure in reading and re-reading it. I suggested that since it was such a fine product, they might share it by transferring it to a ditto master with their own illustrations and distribute it to the non-bilingual classes and the school library. This extended activity allowed the students who might not have contributed a great deal so far the opportunity to use other talents and skills such as illustration and printing.

At about the time this group of 9–10 year olds was completing its writing project, it was announced that there would be a city-wide writing competition in conjunction with Earth Week and the Beautify Cambridge, Inc. Campaign. All Cambridge elementary and secondary students were eligible to compete. An older class (12–14 years old) of students whose ESL period followed the 9–10 year olds had expressed a growing interest in the latter's project. The enthusiasm and pride with which the younger children displayed their product sparked some envy and challenged the older group. Capitalizing on these emotions, I suggested we undertake a similar project based on some aspect of pollution and submit it as a joint project for the Earth Week writing competition. The success the younger class had had writing a fullfledged story demonstrated to the older students that this could certainly be a realistic undertaking and one that could possibly win the prize of $25.00 offered by the city. In addition, getting involved in a task that would allow them as non-native English speakers to compete "linguistically" with the American students was motivation in itself.

I described the storywriting steps to them and suggested as preliminary preparation that we first talk about the meaning of pollution and the variety of ways society pollutes. A lengthy discussion followed, concentrating mainly on the conditions of the city streets and surrounding parks and public buildings. Drawing on their own experiences, they began enumerating the contributions children make to pollution. A careful list was kept on a wall chart as each child in turn offered contributions. When they felt they had sufficiently exhausted all the ways children pollute, they set about composing their story.

Again a vote was taken to decide on a theme. Children and pollution in Cambridge was chosen. Because there was a tie vote on whether we would have a male or a female main character, one child's suggestion of twins seemed the perfect solution. I suggested we use neutral names for our characters so our readers wouldn't associate them with any particular ethnic group. Thus, they began:

> Helena and Mark lived in the city of Cambridge. Their house was at 215 Cambridge Street. They were both 8 years old, and they looked very much alike. They each wore braces and had lots of freckles. They were twins! They were cute but they had one big problem—they were careless and irresponsible.

Again, I helped with vocabulary for items such as braces, freckles and irresponsible. As they wrote, I stressed the importance of creating a "mental painting" for our readers so that they could close their eyes and hear, taste, smell, see and feel our story. Where subject, verb, and object sentences were becoming a routine, I explained to them about creative writing and style; how, by simply changing the word order of sentences without changing their meaning, our story might read more smoothly. They were most articulate and imaginative in incorporating these suggestions:

> When they went out to play they would break bottles all over the park . . . If they ate bananas, for a joke, they would put the peels on the sidewalk and hope that the people walking would slip on them. With spray paint they wrote swears and things like "Joe loves Lucy" all over the buildings, walls, and sidewalks. They also drew pictures with paint to make fun of somebody. When it snowed they made snowballs and put an egg inside to throw at people and at the houses. The eggs would smash all over and smell and everything would be sticky. When the trash baskets on the sidewalks were full, they would knock them all over . . . One paper here, one chicken bone there, one apple core here, and one empty bottle there. The whole place was a big smelly mess.

The story continued with an ever thickening plot. The students' "hero and heroine" had so successfully polluted the city that "garbage covered all the sidewalks and the streets. There was no place to move." In the end the twins couldn't even get out of their house! As they sat in their room lamenting their obvious fate—death, the students realized that they had written a tragedy. They were quite distressed at this fatalistic situation. One child then suggested that the whole thing could have been a bad dream and that now the hero and heroine could wake up and be so happy to be alive that they would rush out and clean up all the streets. The twins were "so relieved it was a dream, they never again dirtied the city of Cambridge." The students had found a perfect solution. With relief they finished up the last paragraphs.

The title posed a bit of a stumbling block. One student suggested we might call it "The Two Little Pigs"; another decided "The Irresponsible Twins" sounded far more grown-up. The merits of both were debated and then I announced that often, in modern literature, an author will combine two titles into one as an advertising device to catch the attention of readers. They weren't quite sure they agreed with modern advertising, but felt if it solved their problem, they might as well use it.

Unlike the story the younger group had written, the art work on this story was extended to include another type of display. The city's own anti-pollution campaign was, with the use of posters, being advertised daily. I proposed that the students make their own story into a poster-size sequence that they could place in a prominent area in our school. This way they also could advertise the lesson their story taught.

As it turned out, a group prize was not offered for their entry. But a local Rotary Club member, having seen a copy of the children's story, was so impressed that he took it to the city newspaper, *The Cambridge Chronicle,* and suggested they publish it. Thus, $2,000.00 was raised from Cambridge business organizations, and the story, complete with the children's illustrations, appeared in the newspaper and complimentary copies were distributed to all school children in Cambridge.

In sum, the pedagogical advantages of this procedure for the child with limited language skills are great. Collective storywriting takes advantage of children's interest, their ability to interact, exchange ideas, and make decisions. It is a very real communication situation which makes full use of the children's language facility. The tremendous opportunity it allows for peer-mediated instruction helps to decentralize the teacher's role as the sole dispenser of knowledge. It is an encouragement and an ego-booster to those students who are incapable of putting together coherent multi-sentence units in more conventional writing lessons where students are made to operate on their own. In such situations, children are made keenly aware of the differences in their abilities. The collective storywriting procedure takes full advantage of each one's personal storehouse of skills—be it grammar, vocabulary, art work or simply ideas—and gives full support to those areas in which an ESL student may be weak. Thus, it is a classroom activity with a built-in assurance of success.

TEACHING
READING SKILLS

Predicting Your Way Through Written English: An Approach to Teaching Advanced Reading to ESL Students

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INTRODUCTION

It is often a shock to teachers of intensive ESL reading courses to learn that some students who excelled in "advanced" ESL reading materials find their reading skills inadequate for the demands of American college courses. Some even give up trying to do their reading assignments and depend entirely on classroom lectures for course content. When we look for answers to the question of why foreign students read so poorly, the answers are often contradictory and confusing. When we ask which factor gives the native student the greatest advantage over the foreign student in reading, most of us would respond that it is word recognition. A minority opinion might be that it is knowledge of English syntax. Yet most of us have had experience with students who have a good knowledge of English vocabulary and grammar who are still unable to comprehend what they read. Another puzzling fact is that there seems to be a correlation between speed and comprehension in reading. The slow reader who labors for exact understanding of every word and phrase is usually comprehending less than the fast reader who misses words and phrases here and there but is able to read through a passage rapidly. Is teaching speed reading the answer then? How can we help ESL students to improve both reading speed and comprehension?

In looking for answers to these questions, I have found the research with monolingual English speakers and foreign students (Hatch 1969); Polin 1970, Part 1970) to be helpful. It was found that native speakers of English "tend to ignore grammatical markers" and pay much more attention to content words than do foreign students (Hatch 1973: 5). This would seem to indicate that native speakers of English are able to supply these grammatical markers from their knowledge of the language; whereas second language learners are not. In other words, native speakers have the ability to predict syntactic markers. This is something that the foreign student lacks; so he/she must pay closer attention to the structure words. It would seem to follow that if it were possible to teach foreign students this factor of predictability, their reading speed would increase.

In addition to this intuitive knowledge of the syntax of English, native speakers have the advantage of knowing lexical associations. Since these associations are partly conventional in a culture, native speakers are better able to anticipate lexical items that are likely to occur together in a particular context. Not only are native students better than foreign students at predicting syntax and vocabulary, they also have the advantage of being familiar with cultural contexts. This experiential predictability makes it possible for them to anticipate at times even the substance that is likely to follow in a given context.

I would like to suggest another kind of predictability that seems to me to be very important in the comprehension of expository writing in English. Robert Kaplan has pointed out that a very important cultural factor in teaching writing to second language learners is that "logic *per se* is a cultural phenomenon" that needs to be taught to someone from another culture (Kaplan 1966: 2). I would like to add that since reading is the decoding side of the coin from writing, an understanding of logical methods of organization is equally important in teaching reading to ESL students. Familiarity with the ways in which ideas are presented in written English is especially important in being able to follow the train of thought and to find the main idea of a particular passage. If students are taught to recognize how an essay is organized and can recognize the structure vocabulary as markers of a particular method of organization, they will read faster, with better comprehension. As Betty Robbinett (1974: 14) has pointed out, reading is a psycholinguistic process that combines the use of *reasoning* with language cues. If you teach students to recognize the connectives that are cues to the reasoning process, you help them not only to follow the argument better, but you increase their facility for predicting what is likely to follow. This will speed up their reading, increase their comprehension, and also make it possible for them to use skimming techniques more easily. Teaching this *semantic predictability* has become an important supplementary component in the advanced reading courses at the University of San Francisco's English Language Center. The goal of these courses is to prepare foreign students to meet the rigorous demands of American university texts and reading assignments.

The description of reading that is most compatible with the approach that I have been describing is Frank Smith's (1971) unconventional reading model, which characterizes the reading process as "predicting (ones's) way through a passage of text, eliminating some alternatives in advance on the bases of . . . (one's) knowledge of the redundancy of the language, and acquiring just enough textual information to eliminate the alternatives remaining." This model may serve as a productive theoretical basis for ESL reading teachers in developing materials that will help students to learn *syntactic, lexical, semantic and cultural predictability.*

CLASSROOM APPLICATION

Classroom materials for teaching syntactic, semantic and lexical predictability were developed as part of the advanced reading course at the American Language Institute, San Francisco State University. These and additional materials are being used at the present time in the advanced reading course at the English Language Center, University of San Francisco, and are being classroom tested at the Berkeley and Davis campuses of the University of California.

In order to explain how those innovative materials are used with more traditional kinds of materials, I will describe in detail three aspects of the reading course—recognition, comprehension, and vocabulary development.

Recognition

By "recognition" I mean recognizing the shape of words and phrases on the printed page. Closely associated with word and pattern recognition is the controversial subject of subvocalization in silent reading. In the early stages of learning to read, or when a student is learning a new word, part of what is being stored about the word is the way it is pronounced. For the beginning reader the steps are (1) perceiving the graphemic symbol, (2) translating the symbol into sound and (3) converting the sound to meaning; in other words, the steps are SYMBOL—SOUND—MEANING. To become a fluent reader, with skill adequate for the demands of college assignments, it is necessary to eliminate this intermediate step—the sound effects (Carol Chomsky 1970).

The Use of Reading Laboratory Machines (Tachistoscope, Reading Pacers, etc.)

There are mechanical devices for teaching the visual, whole-pattern approach to reading. Most of them have some kind of timing device so that words and phrases can be projected on a screen at whatever rate of speed seems appropriate for the students. The text is often broken up into segments of uniform length without regard for syntactic or semantic phrase groupings. The only consideration in making these divisions is how much a reader can take in at a single eye fixation. The teacher, of course, keeps shortening the exposure time for the student to read faster and faster. There is never time for the student to sound out the words, so he has to rely on visual clues. Besides teaching the student to rely solely on visual clues, these mechanical devices are also supposed to increase eye span and decrease the number of eye fixations per line of text. However, research with advanced ESL students has shown that they do not have more eye fixations per line than students who are native speakers of English, but that the duration of the fixation is longer (Oller and Tullius 1972). Limiting the time of exposure to the written text can be very frustrating and discouraging to students who have not learned what to look for or how to interpret these visual clues. The ESL student needs to be taught how to recognize cues, and he/she needs to be given practice interpreting them.

Aside from the expense of the reading machines, their disadvantages may outweigh their advantages. The crux of the matter is, of course, whether or not students will continue to maintain the gains they have made in their reading rate once the external, mechanical pressure has been removed. On the other hand, if they are given techniques that they can practice on their own at home, the progress will come from their own motivation, and it is more likely that the progress obtained will be lasting.

Classroom Exercises and Techniques for Increasing Recognition

A simple device for practicing word recognition is the word list, used with a 3 × 5 flash card in which slots have been cut to allow only one word or phrase to be exposed at a time. These word lists are usually taken from Thorndike and Lorge's *The Teacher's Word Book of 30,000 Words* (1944) or Michael West's *A General Service List of English Words* (1953). Some words on these lists may not be useful for ESL students, but, generally, they are good sources. Both Harris (1966) and Yorkey (1970) have a few word recognition lists and exercises in their texts for ESL students. Harris' list has the advantage of taking into account the kinds of misreadings that foreign students make because their first language has a different orthography or because of the bad fit between spelling and pronunciation in English. Advanced students don't need to spend much time on recognition exercises, but the word lists are helpful diagnostic tools to make sure they can recognize the words they know orally and conceptually. Word lists can also be used on an individual basis with students who are still relying heavily on the phonological component in silent reading. One way to use word lists is to take the first 1500 most common words and divide them into three lists of 500 words each. Give the students one list at a time, and time their reading of it. The average native speaker reads the list of 500 words in 5 minutes. "Reading" consists of letting your eyes move down the columns as rapidly as possible for word *recognition* only. If a student hesitates at all on a word, he/she places a dot over the word and continues on. Students who cannot complete the reading in 5 minutes take the list home to practice 10 minutes a day with their flash cards. After a week of practice, the student is timed again. Students are not given the second list until they can complete the first in 5 minutes. This is a good way to spot those students who are still articulating the words as they read. The goal of this exercise is rapid perception from the shape of the word on the page.

Another type of word recognition exercise is one in which you have a key word in the left hand column, followed by a string of words that are similar or identical in appearance to the key word. The student reads across as quickly as possible, marking the key word as often as it occurs in a line. A similar exercise is used with pairs of words that look alike, in which the student simply checks whether the pairs are the same or different. Similar exercises can be used for recognition of phrases, clauses, and even short sentences. The goal is to increase the amount of information the student can take in at a glance.

Reading by Phrases

To determine whether students are reading a word at a time or reading by word groups, the teacher can easily make a simple diagnostic test. A fairly easy, short passage of general interest is typed in columns, one word at a time, beginning at the bottom of the page for each column. The students read each column from the bottom to the top of the page, beginning at the left column. They record their time when they finish. Then, they are given the same paragraph again, typed as it would conventionally appear on the page. They are again timed while they read the paragraph in the conventional manner. They should be able to read part two in about half the time that it took to read part one. If the time is approximately the same for both parts, the student is probably reading a word at a time.

A simple device for helping students who read a word at a time is the homemade tachistoscope. This is simply a 3 × 5 card which the students use in the following fashion. They take a paragraph from one of their reading selections, covering the first sentence with the edge of the card. With a very quick motion, the sentence is covered and then uncovered. On another piece of paper, which is divided down the middle, the students write as many words as they saw in one glance. They proceed in this manner until they have read through the entire paragraph. When finished, they compare what they have written with the text. If they have made an error, they copy the correct version in the right hand column next to their own version. The results are very revealing of the kinds of words or parts of words that a student isn't seeing or of the kinds of misreadings of cues being made. The teacher should check each student's results from time to time for diagnostic purposes.

Besides serving a diagnostic purpose, this simple exercise has another very important function. In a glance with the homemade tachistoscope, the student sees only partial cues—a few letters in a word, an outstanding letter here or there, a single short word. From these he/she must guess what is possible in English. Students become more aware of the cues in English and begin to acquire a working knowledge of the redundancies of the language. The homemade tachistoscope exercises give them practice in taking the sparse clues they perceive, adding to them their knowledge of how the language works, and arriving at a solution about their meaning.

Lexical Predictability

Many of the kinds of exercises used for word and phrase recognition can also be used for exercises in comprehension of these smaller units. For example, the students are given a key word in the left hand column, and must quickly mark synonyms across the line, or antonyms, or words that they associate with the key word. Teachers can make up their own exercises to teach specific vocabulary in a particular essay or to enlarge the students' associations with a particular word. These word association exercises are particularly valuable for teaching lexical predictability. For example, in English *fires* seem always to *crackle* or *roar*. Learning these associations, particularly those that are culture bound, is very important for foreign students, who lack experience with the conventions of our culture. They obviously cannot predict these kinds of co-occurences if they are not consciously aware of them.

Whenever possible, exercises to increase lexical associations should be devised from the reading materials. Paraphrasing of ideas is a good example of such an exercise. Another is to have students make sentences from pairs of words that frequently occur together. Word association games on the order of "Stop the Clock" are enjoyable ways to increase word association. Building up these lexical associations in a second language, however, takes much more time than learning syntactic predictability.

Syntactic Predictability

Usually in English, although not always, the grammatical phrase coincides with the semantic phrase, so by learning to recognize these grammatical phrases, the student is also learning the way in which meaning is broken up. Teaching students grammatical phrase markers has two functions—it teaches them to anticipate what will follow the marker, thus increasing their reading speed and comprehension, and it teaches them to read in phrase groups rather than word for word. While teaching grammatical phrase markers, it is also good to review the grammar that is associated with them. You might begin first with the noun phrase markers—numerals, demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns, articles, *'s*, etc. Next, phrases and clauses modifying nouns could be taught—participial phrase markers (*-ing* and *-ed*), relative pronouns as markers of the relative clause, and *to* as the marker of the infinite phrase, etc.

The first step in teaching these markers is to have the student go through a passage underlining the markers. Next, modified cloze techniques are used, in which the students supply the markers. The procedure is then reversed and the students are given the marker from which they must indicate the *kind* of grammatical structure that will follow a particular marker. Finally, they supply appropriate words to follow a particular marker. For several weeks students do these kinds of exercises, not exclusively, of course, but several times a week. To reinforce these activities, they also mark off phrases in all their reading selections and then practice reading the selections according to their phrase markings.

Semantic Predictability

To teach semantic predictability I begin by teaching the ways that paragraphs are organized, teaching the logical methods of organization one by one—chronological order, classification, comparison and contrast, analysis, cause and effect, and definition. Students are given the structure vocabulary associated with a particular method of organization. Each of these words is presented in the context of a sentence. At this point it is helpful to review the grammar and punctuation required by these structure words. For example, when teaching the structure vocabulary of cause and effect, the student needs to know which words signal cause and which effect. They also need to know the restrictions about what can follow a particular structure word; for example, *because* is plus sentence and *because of* is plus noun phrase. There are also peculiar distribution patterns for the subordinating conjunctions associated with cause and effect. The students need to be aware of these grammatical expectations.

To teach structure words as clues to a certain method of organization, begin by having the students underline these structure words in a paragraph that uses the method of organization that you are teaching. A next step might be to have them identify the method of organization that is used in a number of paragraphs. The rationale for this is that it will help them to quickly find that elusive main idea and the supporting evidence. If students can quickly identify the pattern of organization from the structure words used, they can predict the train of thought and where the main idea will probably be found. This is very helpful in enabling them to *skim* for information.

Finding the Main Idea

Almost all the reading programs and materials for both native students and ESL students ask them to find the main idea of a passage, but they don't tell the foreign student how to find that elusive main idea. It would help to know how native speakers recognize the main idea. One answer is that native speakers are exposed throughout their school careers to our methods of expository writing. In addition, the main idea may be recognized from the emphasis it is given by sheer repetition. A good writer, of course, doesn't usually repeat the main idea in the same words, so the foreign student must also be able to recognize the synonyms, paraphrases and expansions of a key word or phrase. I have tried a technique for teaching this method of finding the main idea in which I first take a paragraph and underline the main idea wherever it occurs. Then I have the students compare these statements and restatements of the main idea. They must tell what has been added, what has been deleted, what words have been substituted for words in the original statement. The exercises that the students have done for word comprehension where they have to recognize synonyms and words in the same lexical field help them with this paragraph analysis exercise. After the students have done this comparison, the teacher collects the papers and gives the students the same paragraph again with the main idea obliterated. They must supply their own paraphrases of these ideas.

After teaching methods of organization on the paragraph level, I go on to the longer expository essay. The materials adapted for this purpose have not been simplified much because somewhere in the advanced reading program the students need to plunge into the stream of academic writing that they will soon struggle with anyway, without the help that the ESL reading teacher can give them. In our course, students have been prepared for the plunge by using the SRA Reading Laboratory materials three hours a week. These materials, designed for native speakers in junior and senior high school, cover a wide variety of subjects and writing styles. Even some of the most sophisticated ESL students seem to enjoy these materials. The great advantage is that students work at their own level of ability and at their own rate of speed. This individualized approach gives the students a feeling of responsibility for their progress and a sense of accomplishment, which are necessary for lasting reading improvement. Very importantly also, these readings serve as a bridge between the ESL materials they have been accustomed to and the mainly unabridged materials I have developed. Usually my adaptations consist of shortening the essay and rewriting some sentences to include a variety of structure words I am trying to teach them. I have found some of the popular science magazines like *Scientific American*, business magazines, the *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times* editorials and feature articles to be excellent sources for adaptations. I have also used collections of essays for college students who are native speakers of English.

After students have covered each of the logical methods of organization, they are given individualized readings in their field of academic interest. I have found that in increases students' interest if, during the more controlled part of the reading course, they are also given the opportunity once a week to report on outside reading that they choose themselves. Two or three students a week are called on to give short reports to the rest of the class on their outside reading.

After the preliminary work of the course has been completed, students are given a comprehensive orientation to the library by the reference librarian, who has also worked out "Library Orientation Problems," to give them practice using the library and to reinforce the information they have been given in the orientation tour. After this, the students go to the library two days a week to do individualized reading. They are given suggested reading projects, which they do not necessarily have to follow, but which are meant to help those students who don't feel confident yet on their own. The students record the number of pages read and their time, and write short reports on their reading. They also keep vocabulary cards of new words they encounter in their reading. On one side of a 3 × 5 card, they put the new words and the word class to which it belongs, its pronunciation, and some other forms of the word. On the opposite side, they copy the dictionary meaning and the sentence in which they encountered the word. In this way they begin to accumulate some contexts for words they are learning. These cards are reviewed at home by the student and given to the teacher to check once a week. Students are encouraged to read articles in the journals of their intended field of study so that they will begin to learn the vocabulary and the style of writing associated with their particular field.

Vocabulary

In addition to the word studies in the SRA Reading Laboratory Program, which the students do three hours a week, they are given some of the vocabulary exercises in Yorkey that have to do with word classes. These exercises, called "Changing Parts of Speech," stress the suffixes that change the word classes. In the readings that I have adapted, I also have charts in which the student fills in the various forms of a word, according to the traditional word classes. This is not to teach them these words *per se*, but to familiarize them with these suffixes as grammatical markers. I don't give many exercises on work stems and Latin and Greek prefixes and suffixes. The students dislike this type of exercise; nobody wants to sit down and memorize these lists. I have them analyze words in their reading selections and ask them to find other words that use the same suffix or prefix, but this is to familiarize them with the word formation process, so that they can recognize prefixes rather than to teach them the meanings of these prefixes, which never seem to fit anyway.

The main emphasis in vocabulary development, other than teaching the structure words related to particular methods of organization, is on guessing the meaning of words from context. You may have to convince students that it isn't necessary for them to be in command of the exact or complete meaning of a word. They have to learn to tolerate some vagueness about meaning if they are ever going to cut the cord that attaches them to their dictionaries. This is very difficult, if not impossible, for some students, but the teacher must keep working towards this goal.

I also like to do some work with the students on reference. A very simple exercise is to go through a passage that is tightly constructed, taking two sentences at a time and having the students find how they are connected to each other. Teacher-made exercises of this sort need to be worked out from the students' readings.

Synthesis

You might like to know how all these components of the advanced reading program fit together in actual classroom sessions. The advanced reading course at the English Language Center meets for one hour, five times a week. Three days a week are spent primarily on the SRA Reading Laboratory Program. At the beginning of the hour, students have a short, timed reading with about six or seven comprehension questions, which students score themselves and convert to percentages. There are electrical timing devices available, but all that is really needed is a watch with a second hand. The teacher tells the students when to begin and writes the time on the board every ten seconds until the slowest student has finished. After the students finish this "Rate Builder" reading—which, incidentally, they select themselves according to the color-coded level they are working at—they go on to the Comprehension and Word Study readings, which are longer and are not timed. The students are completely independent in this part of the program. They select whatever reading they want, just as long as it is at their level. The teacher keeps a progress chart of each student's comprehension scores, and the teacher and student decide together when it is time to move to a more advanced level, usually after the student has scored 80 percent or above at one level for three or four times. On the SRA Lab days, I also bring some exercises on word comprehension and association as well as word or phrase recognition and discrimination exercises. All of these are timed exercises.

Two days a week students work on the part of the program I call "Teaching Predictability." This is all the work with syntactical markers, paragraph analysis, and logical methods of organization. After this part of the program has been completed, the students spend two days a week doing individualized readings in their field of concentration. Except for the one article they read each week outside of class and report on, there is homework only two days a week, consisting of questions about organization of the essays they are reading, comprehension questions, exercises on structure vocabulary, phrase markers, guessing words from context and the word class charts.

EVALUATION

The students' progress in reading rate and comprehension in the SRA Program is recorded on their individual progress charts. My experience with this program has been that all students move up at least two levels within six class sessions and some move up as many as four levels. For the materials in Harris' text there are both native speaker control group scores and foreign student scores with which the teacher can compare the students' performance. Some such evaluative procedures need to be worked out for the teacher-made exercises for teaching predictability. Informal student evaluations of the materials have been encouraging.

CONCLUSIONS

There are many questions about teaching advanced reading to ESL students that remain unanswered. For example, is there a transfer of reading ability from the student's native language to English? Informal questioning of very fast readers seems to indicate that there probably is a correlation.

Another question that needs researching is how foreign students can be taught cultural predictability. It is very difficult to teach foreign students how to find a main idea that is implied rather than stated. This is because writers assume so much about their audience. A whole body of cultural knowledge and attitudes is taken for granted. Is it possible to work out techniques for teaching some of these cultural assumptions? Helen Munch, a teacher at the English Language Center, has worked out a test of cultural awareness for ESL students. Perhaps some of these same techniques and materials can be used for teaching as well as testing. It would be interesting to work out problem solving exercises where the student is given a situation and asked to supply a solution that is in agreement with our cultural assumptions.

There are very few reading materials designed specifically for ESL students that can be used to teach lexical, syntactic, and semantic predictability. I think it is a challenge for those of us who like to develop materials to take what is known about reading for ESL students that is different from reading for native speakers and develop materials that are appropriate for these special needs.

Can An Adult Intermediate ESL Student Understand Today's News?

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For many Americans the morning begins with a look at the morning paper. Foreign students or new immigrants are equally, if not more, in need of information and general background concerning their second culture. Yet the newspaper is one of the last tools of communication to be tackled by foreigners. The native speaker's casual attitude towards newspaper reading can be illustrated by the example of an American man married to a Japanese woman who had been here only a few months. He said disgustedly as he brought his wife to our school, "I don't know what's the matter with her; she can't even read the newspaper." Yet many or most ESL students say they have never read a front page. "It's too hard," they complain.

I imagine most ESL teachers are more enlightened than to expect daily news reading from beginning students. Yet we may still be expecting too much if we give out news articles as reading assignments in intermediate or advanced classes. Even teachers who "teach" news reading generally avoid teaching how to read news and opt for teaching long lists of vocabulary words from one news article which has been brought to class. After the students have waded through sentence after indecipherable sentence they may know all about the people who marched to the Capitol last Wednesday, but they will be little closer to finding out what happens tomorrow.

Students must be taught to decipher and analyze, in other words, how to use structure and style to infer meaning. In the course of teaching foreign students, I have used a "news unit" as a set of lessons which branch out to include several skills. This unit has been used with several groups, mainly for our school's level 500/600 students (score on EPT form G or H, over 20, corresponding to TOEFL score 425–500) Most of these students are at least high school graduates. It has also been used for adults who have been in this country for many years, and who have developed a good oral fluency, but who need extensive remedial work in reading, writing and grammar. If students are very deficient in vocabulary, the lessons will be more effective if they are carefully selected for controlled vocabulary to allow students to concentrate on structure in the first stages of learning.

There are two basic parts of news writing which must be understood in order to read the front page of the paper; headlines and news stories. The following presentation contains a section analyzing the structure of each of the two parts and sets of lessons to familiarize students with each style or set of structures. I have used only the first sentence of articles to represent news stories.

HEADLINES

How are they written?

To examine news headlines, 5 copies of a local paper (the *San Francisco Chronicle*, random copies from January and February, 1975) were used. All headlines found on page 1 of the papers were listed. Headlines found on pages 2–5 of the papers were listed separately in case there was a difference in type of headline between page one and succeeding pages. Headlines of random single copies of the *Los Angeles Times* and the *New York Times* were compared to those from the San Francisco paper to see if a significant difference in style existed. Grammatical structures found in the headlines were listed and catagorized as seen in Table 1.

TABLE 1

	S.F. Chron.		L.A. Times	N.Y. Times
	page 1	pages 2–5	page 1	page 1
1. Noun phrases eg.: *New Crisis* *Winter Days*	15	44	0	0
2. Simple present eg.: *TWA Sells 6 Jets* *Ex-FBI Men Tell of Files*	8	29	9	7
3. Passive Voice eg.: *9th Victim Found* *Commission Set Up*	6	19	0	3
4. Miscellaneous (including infinitive future, pres. prog, and combinations)	4	11	0	1
Total	43	93	9	11

Since the structures on the first and following pages of the *Chronicle* occurred in the same order of frequency, I have hereafter treated all the headlines as one group. Two things should be noted, however: 1) this is a small sample, only intended to give an idea of the regularity of news writing structures, and 2) The occurrence of these structures in the New York and Los Angeles papers indicates that the lessons should be adapted to whatever local paper students are likely to read.

Some steps to student "headline-consciousness raising"

1. List the three main kinds of grammar with examples (see table 1). Note how articles and auxiliaries have often been omitted as: *9th Victim Found (the 9th Victim Is (was) Found.)*

Note that almost all headlines are tenseless or in a narrative present tense, whether active or passive.

2. Give an exercise listing headlines and have students mark the headline form as type 1, 2, or 3, as listed in Table 1 (and in the students' example).

examples: *Truck driver dies* 2
High cost of living 1

3. Give reduced forms for headlines and have students expand them to make complete sentences.

examples: *Turks Killed in Ambush*
Some Turks (were) are killed in an ambush

4. Give a series of simple one-line "news stories" to which you have given structurally incorrect or semantically nonsensical headlines and have the students correct the headlines.

Garage Collapses
examples: *Garage Crushed by Cars* → Cars Crushed
A three story parking garage collapsed yesterday, crushing cars and spilling some autos into the street.
Victim Kills → Victim Found, Slasher Kills
Another victim of the slasher was found yesterday about a half mile from where he was killed a week ago.

5. If more practice is needed, give another series of one-line "stories" similar to those above and have students write their own headlines. Perhaps specify that they must use a certain form, e.g., passive voice or simple present tense.

NEWS STORIES

How are they written?

It was found that the main verb of the first sentences of page one news stories occurred with the frequency tabulated in Table 2.

TABLE 2

	S.F. Chron.	L.A. Times	N.Y. Times
Simple Past Tense	26	6	6
Passive Voice (past)	8	1	1
Present Perfect	3	0	2
Future Possible (may go)	2	0	0
Past Continuous	1	0	0
Future	1	0	0
Past Possible (may have gone)	1	0	0

One might think that comprehension of the structures of most of these sentences should be easy for students since a large number of the main verbs are in the simple past tense. However this structure is complicated by the fact that newswriters strive to include as many important facts as possible in the first sentence, answering such questions as "why" "where" "who" and "when". The *Chronicle* sentences examined contained an average of 28.04 words. These long sentences were written using the following structures.

1. Modifying phrases 15
    - a. non-restrictive relative clauses
      examples: Smith, who arrived yesterday, . . .
    - b. appositives
      example: Smith, the new director, . . .
    - c. participials
      example: Swinging his fists, he came into . . .
2. Reported speech
   example: Smith was arrested, according to police
3. Complex prepositional phrases
   example: This news came *with the cancellation of* . . .

4. A scattering of adverbial clauses of time and place, introduced by *when, where,* etc.

Some steps for learning news writing styles and practicing some commonly misused writing structures

1. Point out the frequency of past tense and passive voice in main verbs and that the present tense is not used as it is in headlines. Point out what information writers try to include in the first sentence of news articles and the advantage of this for skim reading.

2. Give some first sentences of articles and have students pick out the basic sentences which comprise the complex sentence.

example: A nationwide protest by service station dealers began last night, threatening the Bay Area with a complete lack of gasoline if all stations are closed.

a. A protest began last night.
b. The Bay Area is threatened.
c. All stations may be closed.

3. Make up a fill-in exercise indicating what kind of information is to be supplied.

example: In S.F. (where) yesterday (when) authorities (who)
said that Smith (who) will be given life imprisonment
for two of the murders he committed.

4. Point out that other dependent structures often complicate sentences. Give examples.

5. Do a relative clause-wirting exercies using clauses with *who, which, that,* etc.
example: Ed Matthews, who arrived in town last week,
spoke to the convention yesterday in L.A.

6. Do a writing exercise with participial forms.
example: Snow fell in New York last night, cover ing
cars and buses.
He walked through the park, dropp ing papers.

7. Do an exercise to practice placing the speaker in final sentence position.
example: A suspect was arrested, according to police.

8. Give a list of prepositional phrases and have students write sentences including them.
example: on federal charges
Two were indicted on federal
charges of transporting stolen goods.
in favor of the plan
The directors claimed to be
in favor of the plan to continue.

9. As a culmination of writing practice, a series of situations, cartoons or realistic pictures should be given to students and they should write both an appropriate imaginary headline and a one-sentence story.
example: a bad storm, a car accident, a sports event

10. Finally, of course, students should be encouraged to read the paper and see if their comprehension has increased.

It would be very interesting to pre- and post-test students by having them restate articles and headlines in their own words. I predict that there would be a much greater gain in understanding than would be found if the same amount of time were spent reading articles and discussing vocabulary.

In conclusion I would like to mention a few extensions to this unit which may be useful for development of other skills:

1. Read ambiguous headlines, such as "GOLDEN ARM," "BIZARRE POLICE SEARCH FOR KILLER," "ONE STEP AHEAD OF BURGLARS," or "FORD'S LITTLE SLIP," and have students speculate verbally as to what the stories contain.

2. Read aloud or tape and play back some news stories for listening comprehension and have students take a true/false or short answer

comprehension quiz. Then have students either retell or write down important points in their own words. A variation might include using Cloze procedure, having students fill in blanks as they hear the story read.

3. Divide students into pairs. Have one of each pair interview the other about important or interesting happenings in his or her life, and write a news article on this event. Variation: Tape one of the interviews. Play the tape for all the students and have them each write a news article of the event. Compare the articles for accuracy.

4. Give first sentence stories and teach paragraph development.

I hope this presentation will help teachers find a new approach to a frustrating problem and help them develop new exercises which will make the task of language learning more interesting. I owe a great deal to my students who participated in these and similar lessons and made honest comments and helpful suggestions. I am grateful, as well, to my colleagues who shared their expertise and teaching experiences with me as I developed these techniques. Hopefully, this paper will inspire comments and criticisms from the reader which will aid in further experimentation and development of these ideas.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN TESTING

Measuring Intercultural Acceptance

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One of the goals common to bilingual programs across the United States is the development in the children of a pride in themselves and in their heritage. And one thing that each of those programs must do each year, at least those financed through state or federal funds, is to evaluate the extent to which its particular group of children has succeeded in reaching that goal. Finding a way of making that judgment with any accuracy is difficult enough when the children come from only a sinngle ethnic background. It is more complicated the more cultures the children in any particular program represent. But if the goal itself is modified by extending it to include not only the provision that the children will improve their self-concepts, but also that they will grow in their willingness to accept children from other cultures, the problem of evaluation becomes more complex still. This extension is a natural one, however, and is particularly important in a program with a multicultural student body, where the students' learning to accept each other is necessary to the effective conduct of the education program itself. The King School in Urbana, Illinois, for example, has children from some 30 countries. The multilingual/multicultural program set up within that school has classrooms in which 50 percent of the children come from within the United States and are native English speakers, and 50 percent are from elsewhere and have other native languages. With such cultural diversity, any program is faced with an especially demanding challenge and a rich opportunity to see that each child develops an ability to accept the other children as individuals regardless of their backgrounds. One way a program can tell to what extent it has accomplished this objective—to what extent its children have maintained a positive self-image while developing an acceptance of others—is the focal point of this paper.

One source of information that will help a program to answer this question during its self-evaluation is a *parent survey*. For example, if parents were to indicate that the greatest benefit the program offered their children was, in the words of one King School parent from India, "learning about different countries from people who come from there, and getting to know different kinds of friends," one could at least tentatively assume that there was some progress in this direction during the year. Another source of evidence that will help a program evaluate its efforts comes from *anecdotes* told by parents or teachers showing children's growing pride in themselves, or their acceptance of others. For instance, if an Indian child early in the year is afraid to eat his/her lunch in front of other children because it contains native Indian food, but overcomes this fear as the year goes on, and even offers a sample of his/her native food to the other children, the program has definitely made progress insofar as that child is concerned. If there are fewer quarrels traceable to racial or ethnic differences, the program has brought about *intercultural* acceptance to that extent. But the judgment of the parents is essentially a subjective measure, and the anecdotal evidence is fragmentary, so that these two types of data have little value, unless they are supported by other more objective data that has been more systematically gathered. Our problem, then, is to find an effective way of collecting the additional evidence we need to depict the attitudes of the children toward themselves and toward those of their peers from cultures foreign to their own.

One measure that was applied in the King School project in the attempt to reach a characterization of these attitudes was a *sociogram*. The device was used once in September and once in May in each project classroom. The assumption was that as the children in each room came to know each other better and grew in their acceptance of the cultural differences that they found among themselves, they would be less likely to limit their selection for the various items on the *sociogram* to children from their own cultural backgrounds. Items included in the device were such questions as, "Who would you like to sit beside at lunch?" or "Who is the prettiest girl in the class?" What we found was that there was very little change in the selection patterns used by the children from September to May. However, when results are rather nebulous, as were those attained through this *sociogram*, one should first reconsider the instrument itself in terms of the precise objectives one is attempting to achieve to see if the instrument is entirely relevant. In retrospect, one can see that the *sociogram* was measuring the child's attitudes toward a small segment of the children in the classroom—only those that the child would label in the superlative in terms of some characteristic. It did not measure the child's attitudes toward the rest of the children in any way. If there had been a significant increase in the number of individuals selected by children from cultures other than their own, that would have shown a definite breaking of the cultural barriers that initially existed within the classroom. But the failure of such a trend to show up in our results merely meant that the reduction of those barriers had not been quite so complete as that. What was needed was an instrument that would measure the attitudes of a child toward those of his peers that he did not list on the *sociogram*.

Whatever the form this instrument would take, it would have to have three basic characteristics. First, the vocabulary and the syntactic structure of the items would have to be relatively simple, so that children with limited English-speaking ability, as well as primary school age children, could handle the language. Second, cultural implications of the various test items and potential answers must be as universal as possible, to avoid hidden built-in biases. And third, the test format itself must be easily understood by the children taking it. The device that the King School project developed to meet these requirements was based upon the concept of the semantic differential, as discussed by Charles Osgood and others in *Semantic Differential Technique* (Snider and Osgood 1972).

One of the chief advantages of the semantic differential format is that the child can use it to give answers while overtly employing very little syntactic structure at all. The body of the test consists of a set of scales connecting modifiers that are polar opposites, e.g., *good/bad, kind/mean, pretty/ugly, right/wrong,* and *funny/sad.* Children are asked to evaluate a particular concept in terms of those scales. For example, if the concept were *tacos*, and the child enjoyed tacos, he/she might fill in the scales to indicate that they were *good, kind, pretty, right,* and *funny.* If he wants to say that they are *pretty* and *funny,* but not *very pretty* or *funny,* he/she would mark those scales in the space second from the end. If the child does not think that tacos can be said to have either characteristic suggested by a particular pair of modifiers, the scale directly in the middle is marked. To take this type of test, it is necessary, of course, that the children know and understand the various modifiers that are used, and that they be able to react to the concept in whatever form it is presented. Lists of modifiers that were found to be frequently used by children at various ages are given by Francis J. DiVesta (1972). By using these lists, and checking them as necessary with the teachers of the children whose attitudes are to be measured, one can be fairly sure that the modifiers are general knowledge among the children. As a practical matter, however, especially since there will be children among those to be tested whose English is limited to varying degrees, it is usually wise to ask the children before starting the test if they need to have any of the modifiers explained. It is especially important that the children understand the pairs of modifiers to be opposites. We can see, then, that the semantic differential *can* meet the first requirement placed on our attitude test: its syntax and vocabulary can be simple.

Consider now the second basic requirement we must demand of any device that we might want to use to measure the attitudes of children toward themselves and toward those who are culturally different. i.e., it must minimize the effect on the child's response caused by a cultural bias within the testing device itself. Does the semantic differential format permit us to meet this requirement as it did the first? The answer is that it does. But in order to understand why, we must take a short digression into the nature of affective meaning, as described by Osgood and his colleagues.

Oliver C. S. Tzeng (1974) has pointed out that "it is crucial for the human animal as well as other higher organisms to use the innate *emotional* reaction system to distinguish among the signs of things as *good* or *bad*, *strong* or *weak*, and *active* or *passive* with respect to himself when confronted with any judgmental situation." Each of these pairs of modifiers represents one of the three most important factors that play a role in our arriving at these judgments. These factors can be labelled Evaluation, Potency, and Activity, respectively, and around each factor one can group a large number of other modifiers that will form sets with each of the three pairs just given. For example, alongside the pair *good/bad*, we have already seen that we could list such pairs as *kind/mean*, *pretty/ugly*, *right/wrong*, and *funny/sad* as being from the same set. The judgment that these pairs all make in common is an evaluative one; in effect, each of these pairs is saying very much the same thing in affective terms, i.e., each indicates the extent to which a concept can be described as *good* or *bad*. If one says that a woman is *pretty*, he/she has made an evaluative judgment concerning the woman's looks; if one says that she is *kind*, her way of dealing with people has been evaluated. If one says she is *sleepy*, on the other hand, one may not be evaluating her at all, but simply be describing a fact that has no value judgment associated with it, in which case, *sleepy* does not belong to the same set as *good/bad*. In that instance, one would merely be classifying her as essentially passive, rather than active, at that particular moment.

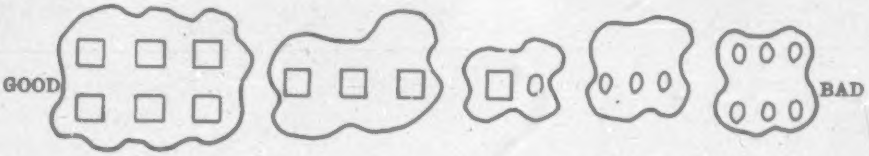
Affective meaning throughout the literate world, then, is built to a large extent around the same factors: Evaluation, Potency, and Activity (Osgood 1972). Furthermore, though it is not true in every case, words in one language frequently belong to the same factor as do their translational equivalents in other languages. To take an obvious example, *good*, *bon* (Fr), *gut* (Ger), *khob* (Pers), and *bun* (Rom) are mutually translatable, and each belongs to the set of modifiers defining the Evaluative factor in its respective language. If we want a particular scale to mean the same thing affectively for each of the children taking the attitude test, what we must do is to find a matched pair of modifiers that belongs to the same factor in each of the languages native to those children. If we do this for each scale that we use, we will have built an instrument that permits children from different cultures to make judgments within a framework of affective meaning that those children hold in common. As a result, there should be little difference between the responses of children from different backgrounds that is directly traceable to an inherent difference in the meaning of the scales themselves for the various children. Furthermore, it should not make any difference whether children took the test in English or in another language, so long as their command of whatever language they did use was sufficient for them to recognize the pairs of modifiers as the opposites they were. It has been shown experimentally by Kumata and Schramm (1956) that an individual tends to judge particular concepts in the same way, regardless of which of the languages spoken by him/her was employed in the construction the scales used. And so we see that by constructing whatever instrument is developed in the native languages of those children whose English is too limited to permit them to take the test in English, it should be possible to include all children in a particular bilingual project in the semantic differential approach to the evaluation of the project's effectiveness, in developing a positive self-concept and intercultural acceptance in those children.

Another characteristic of the semantic differential approach to testing children's attitudes toward themselves and others that makes it useful with children from different cultural backgrounds is the fact that the concept to be evaluated does not have to be expressed verbally. It *can* be given a spoken or written label, of course, but it may *also* appear as an object, a picture, a color, a noise, or any other stimulus. Lambert (1960) has measured the attitudes of French and English speaking Canadians toward each other and toward the British and European French by using *voices representing* these different groups as the concepts to be evaluated. The flexibility possible in the presentation of the concepts to be evaluated permits us to ask the children to react to stimuli that would be difficult to phrase in concise English, and also permits the presentation of a single non-verbal concept to all the children regardless of the limitations there might be on the English of some of the children. Each child, in these cases, simply responds in the language in which the scales in front of him/her are written.

All of what has been said so far, of course, would be of little interest to anyone trying to develop an attitude test of the sort we are working toward, if the semantic differential format were too difficult for young children to understand and use. Most importantly, the children must grasp the significance of the scales themselves: they must see each of the positions as point on a semantic continuum connecting the two polar modifiers. Taking a cue from reports of other studies in which these scales were used apparently successfully with children as young as the second grade (Maltz 1963, DiVesta 1972, Lambert and Tucker 1972), the King School project tried a simple, five-place scale on a self-concept test early in the fall of 1963. Each of the positions along the scale was indicated by a blank:

It was found, however, that the primary level children were unable to comprehend what it meant to check one blank on the scale instead of another.

To overcome this obstacle, it was decided to quantify the spaces in terms of squares and circles:



Expressed in this graphic form, the scales could be interpreted by the children themselves. It was necessary only to draw their attention to the increase in the number of geometric forms as one moved from the center of the scale toward the words at either end. Even first-graders quickly recognized that the positions on the scale were related to the intensity with which one thought one or the other modifier applied to the particular concept. In quantified terms, they saw that six squares or circles meant *very good* or *very bad,* and the matched pair of forms in the middle of the scale mean *equally good* or *bad* (or *neither*).

We have seen, then, that the semantic differential approach can meet all three of the basic requirements that it must if it is to be useful to us: it can be lexically and syntactically simple; it can be couched in terms of affective meaning that has been shown by Osgood to be universal; and its format can be quantified so as to make it easily comprehended even by children of primary school age. But does it perform the function that we set out for it in the first place? Does it provide objective data that will aid a bilingual project in determining whether it has developed in its children the positive self-concept and intercultural acceptance that is one of its most important goals?

As it was used at the King School project last spring, it seemed to. The purpose of the test was to determine how the self-concept and intercultural acceptance of the children in the project would measure up alongside those same characteristics in children from other classrooms and other schools. It was assumed that since all schools attempt to help children develop a pride in themselves, the King project would have succeeded in this particular area if its own children regarded themselves in a light that was as favorable as that in which the children from other schools viewed themselves. On the other hand, the sizeable number of *children and teaching assistants from different cultures,* together with the deliberate attempt of the project to capitalize on their presence to develop a high degree of intercultural acceptance in the children, would lead, it was reasoned, to a more ready acceptance of cultural differences on the part of the children in the project. The groups of non-project children came from two elementary schools in Champaign, Illinois, in which none of the three factors just mentioned—the large number of foreign students, the foreign teaching assistants, and the focus on intercultural education—existed to any significant extent. In addition, we used those children in King School itself who were not in the project as part of the control.

The test itself was simple. There were six concepts, each evaluated by the children in terms of twelve different scales. Two of the concepts, *myself*, and *my best friend*, were expressed verbally; the latter was intended to get at what constituted the child's ideal, and the children were told that this "best friend" need not be a real person. The other four concepts were represented by voices: one spoke Korean; one, English, with a heavy but intelligible Korean accent; one, Spanish; and one, general American English, though not in that order. The first two voices belonged to the same person, as did the second two. The directions to the children taking the test told them to try to imagine what the speaker would be like and then to describe him in terms of the scales. It was hoped that the children from the King School project would react more favorably toward the two voices using a foreign language, as toward the voice with the Korean accent, since these voices represented people from cultures recognizeably different from those of most of the children taking the test. The native English-speaking voice was intended to be a control.

In scoring the device, five points are awarded for each "X" placed in the most positive position, i.e., *very good, very pretty*, etc.; four points are given for the next positive position; three for the next, and so on, until the "X" placed in the least positive position would receive one point:

GOOD ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ BAD
5 4 3 2 1

The scores of the different groups of children were averaged for each concept, and the groups compared. At King School last spring, two different comparisons were drawn: one in which each group was comprised of the children from a particular school, with the children outside the project but enrolled in King School itself counting as a separate "school"; and another, in which the American children within the project were compared with those project children from outside the United States.

Once the results were tabulated, they seemed to indicate that the King project had been successful in generating within its children the desired attitudes toward themselves and others: their self-concepts were as high, and their intercultural acceptance higher, than those

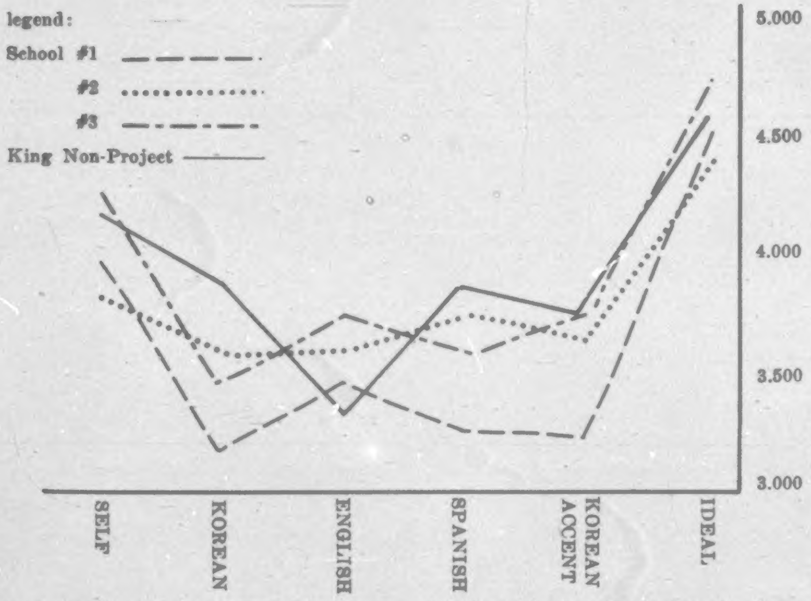
TABLE 1
Tabulation of Mean Scores by School and Concept

School/Concept	Self	Korean L	English	Spanish	Korean ACC	Ideal
#1	3.9622	3.1936	3.4335	3.2821	3.2492	4.4469
#2	3.8053	3.5896	3.5716	3.7007	3.6026	4.3869
#3	4.1987	3.4672	3.7064	3.5924	3.7327	4.6818
King Project	4.1324	3.8309	3.3423	3.8763	3.7666	4.5479
Standard Dev.	0.5146	0.8068	0.6962	0.7514	0.7538	0.5018

found in the children of any of the other three schools, as Table 1 and the graph in Figure 1 indicate.

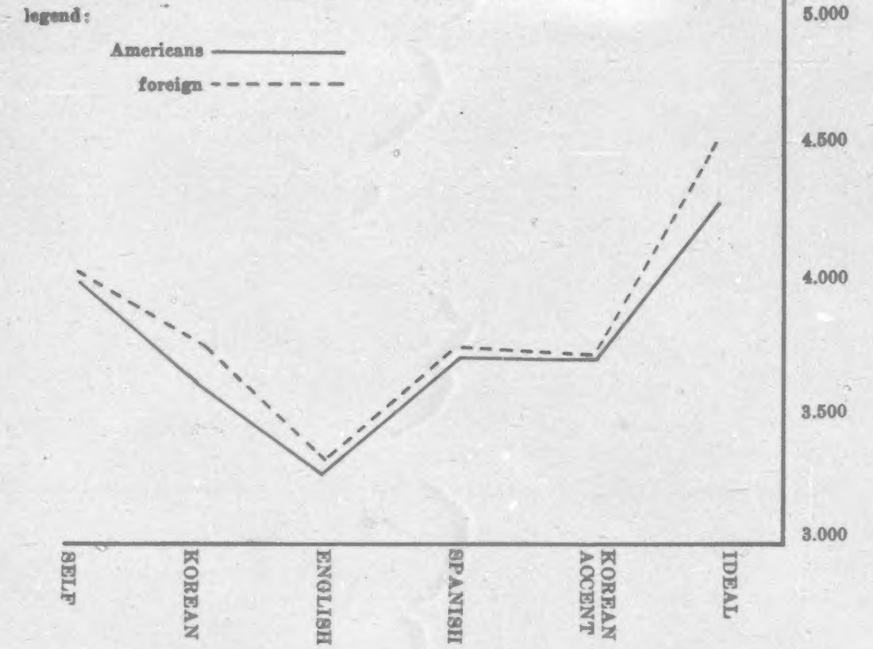
These same ratings, however, are the basis of the graph in Figure 1 in which two interesting questions are crystallized. Notice that the voice speaking English with a Korean accent was not rated significantly differently by any of the groups. Also, the ratings of the voice speaking English without an accent were inexplicably low among the King project children. Why children from outside the project would readily accept a voice speaking with a heavy Korean accent, but not the two voices actually speaking foreign languages, we have not yet

Figure 1. Scores of the Four Groups of Children over the Six Concepts.



Note: Scores here and on Table 1 are computed by assigning five points to the most favorable response, four to the next most favorable, and so on down to one for the least favorable. All scores on the graphs are mean scores computed over all subjects in a particular school group for each concept. No mean fell below 3.000; hence the graph represents only the distance between 3.000 and 5.000.

Figure 2. Scores of the American and Foreign Children from the King School Project.



determined. Nor can we explain the low ratings given the native English speaker at this time. Regarding this latter problem, one might suggest that the project children assigned less prestige to English than the other children did because of the considerable emphasis on languages and cultures from outside the United States, and that this reduced prestige was responsible for the low ratings. But if that were so, one would expect to find a complementary reduction in the self-concept of the English-speaking children in the project, and this did not occur. The American children within the project rated themselves as highly as did Americans from the other school (Figure 1), or those children within the project from other countries (Figure 2).

As this device for measuring attitudes of children toward themselves and others is revised, one would hope to be able to find a way of gathering data that would help explain the questions surrounding the enigmatic results associated with the Korean accent and with the native English speaker. Using other discoveries described by Tzeng (1974), it may be possible also to measure the degree to which children have assimilated to the type of American culture represented by the schools on a format similar to that described here. But even without accomplishing these additional steps, we can say that we do seem to have a testing device which does discriminate between the attitudes toward the children from different cultures found in the King project children, and those found in the children from other schools. The project children were more favorably disposed toward the speakers of the foreign languages. Given this power to discriminate, the fact that no differences are indicated between the self-ratings of the project children and those of the others can be taken as evidence that the goal of the King project to build as positive a self-image in its children as that held by American school children in general was achieved last year. In both these areas, then, that of establishing pride in the students and that of developing an acceptance of the culturally different, this device seems able to offer data that will be of considerable help to anyone charged with evaluating the work of a bilingual or a multilingual/multicultural project over any particular year.

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